

# TLS

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### VACANT APPOINTMENTS AND PUBLIC NOTICES, &c.

#### ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN

For full details, see advertisement in the *Times* of 19th May 1969. The work involves the maintenance of the library's stock, the issue and return of books, and the general administration of the library. The successful candidate will be required to have a degree in a relevant subject and to have experience in library work. Applications should be sent to the Librarian, The Bodleian Library, Oxford, by 10th June 1969.

#### INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

The Institute of Race Relations is a non-profit-making organization which is concerned with the study of race relations in the United Kingdom. It is currently seeking a full-time Assistant Librarian to be responsible for the library's stock and the issue and return of books. The successful candidate will be required to have a degree in a relevant subject and to have experience in library work. Applications should be sent to the Librarian, The Institute of Race Relations, 100, Tottenham Court Road, London, W1P 0LP, by 10th June 1969.

#### JUNIOR ASSISTANT

The Bodleian Library is seeking a Junior Assistant to be responsible for the library's stock and the issue and return of books. The successful candidate will be required to have a degree in a relevant subject and to have experience in library work. Applications should be sent to the Librarian, The Bodleian Library, Oxford, by 10th June 1969.

#### QUALIFIED LIBRARIAN

The Bodleian Library is seeking a Qualified Librarian to be responsible for the library's stock and the issue and return of books. The successful candidate will be required to have a degree in a relevant subject and to have experience in library work. Applications should be sent to the Librarian, The Bodleian Library, Oxford, by 10th June 1969.

#### ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN

The Bodleian Library is seeking an Assistant Librarian to be responsible for the library's stock and the issue and return of books. The successful candidate will be required to have a degree in a relevant subject and to have experience in library work. Applications should be sent to the Librarian, The Bodleian Library, Oxford, by 10th June 1969.

#### TWO IMPORTANT VACANCIES IN BOOKSHOP MANAGEMENT

The Bodleian Library is seeking two important vacancies in bookshop management. The successful candidates will be required to have a degree in a relevant subject and to have experience in bookshop management. Applications should be sent to the Librarian, The Bodleian Library, Oxford, by 10th June 1969.

#### Public and University Appointments

#### LAURENTIAN UNIVERSITY

The Laurentian University is seeking a full-time Assistant Librarian to be responsible for the library's stock and the issue and return of books. The successful candidate will be required to have a degree in a relevant subject and to have experience in library work. Applications should be sent to the Librarian, The Laurentian University, 100, St. George Street, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, by 10th June 1969.

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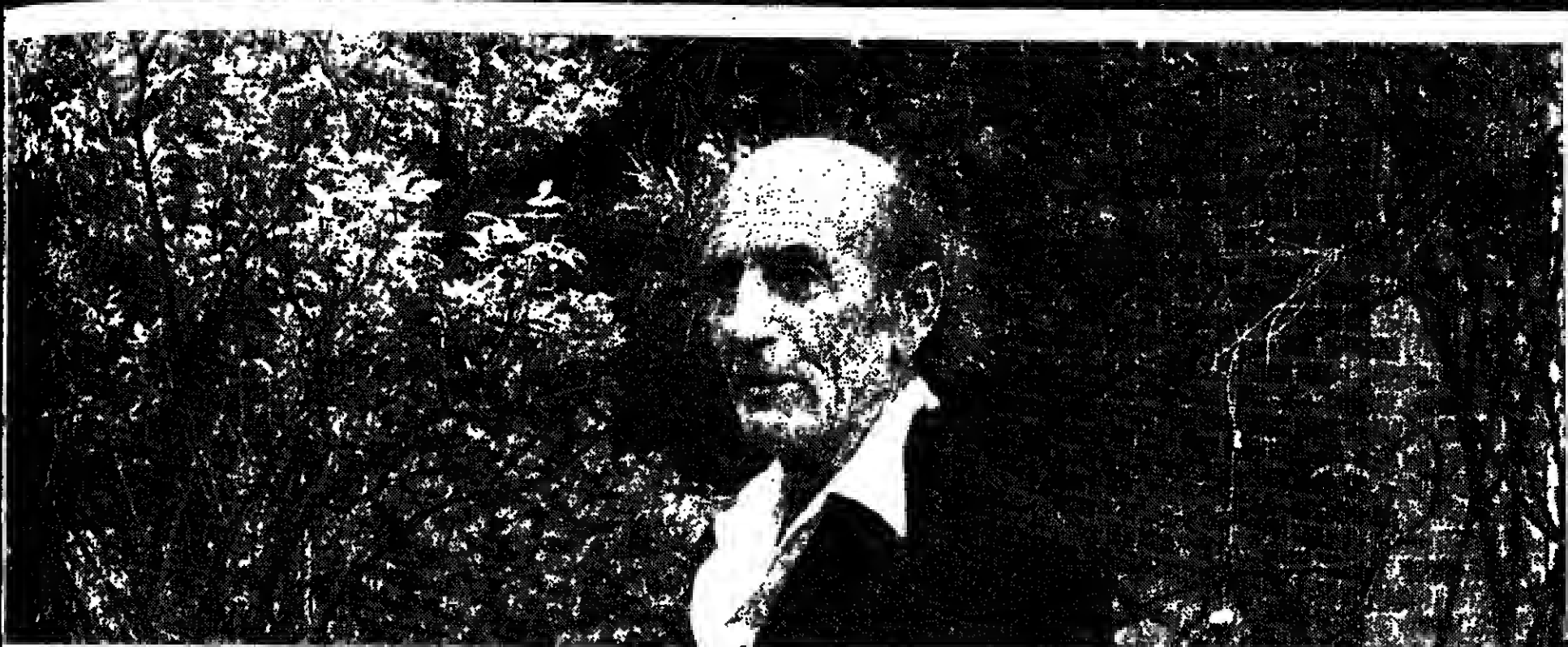
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## ENGLISH—UNREST AND CONTINUITY

By F. R. Leavis: the opening address at a recent colloquium on 'English' held by the University of Wales at Gregynog

WHAT COULD BE in our time no more important preoccupation than that which brings us here. To say that isn't merely a truism; it's a truism. It's a truism that we are in a time of great change, and that we are in a time of great uncertainty. It's a truism that we are in a time of great challenge, and that we are in a time of great opportunity. It's a truism that we are in a time of great danger, and that we are in a time of great hope. It's a truism that we are in a time of great confusion, and that we are in a time of great clarity. It's a truism that we are in a time of great despair, and that we are in a time of great faith. It's a truism that we are in a time of great loss, and that we are in a time of great gain. It's a truism that we are in a time of great sorrow, and that we are in a time of great joy. It's a truism that we are in a time of great pain, and that we are in a time of great pleasure. 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three sciences on which our technological civilization so obviously depends: is not the sole business of a university, and that there clearly needs to be provision for advancing and communicating the available knowledge of human nature and society, he emphasizes the supremely relevant importance of psychology and the Social Sciences.

Here, of course, without suspecting it (that's what's so frightening), he drops a clue for us to take up. But to complete my own emphasis: if we don't give with conviction the strong positive grounds—on which means presenting (and serving in action) our own very different conception of a university, explicitly repudiating Lord Robbins's, we shall have resigned ourselves to accepting the idea of English as a soft option, with all the futility that involves. Lord Robbins has the world with him, and, whatever resistance professional pride and the sense of responsibility may offer, the pressures and the insidious climate will prevail if the pride and the responsibility are not those of a completely and strongly conceived function.

I find myself from time to time saying—some here may have heard me say—that we have to insist, and compel for English the corresponding respect (there is no respect as things are), that we stand for a discipline of intelligence as genuine as that of any of the sciences and certainly not less important. It was that tactical emphasis I had in mind when, writing an essay on *Anna Karenina*, I chose (beforehand) for subtitle: "Thought and Significance in a Great Creative Work." The discipline is *not* generic. But to insist effectively on these things implies some sort of apprehension on the part of the enemy of a whole context that gives them their meaning and force. So to turn now to the cliché about the "two categories" under which university work falls—"contribution to knowledge and communicating knowledge to students": by it English is excluded from among serious studies. Neither the distinction nor the terminology, the language, applies where English is concerned. When enforcing this assertion positively one is insisting both on the unique nature of English as a university study and on its central and basic importance. My aversion from the word "teach" preceded—it was only intensified by my acquaintance with those American "notes on contributors" that tell one that X or Y or Z "teaches" at this or that college or university. If one's concern is essentially with literature one doesn't think of oneself as "teaching". One thinks of oneself as engaged with one's students in the business of criticism—which, of its nature, is collaborative. The student, on his part, ought to be able to think of himself as belonging to a collaborative community formed by the English School as a whole, undergraduates, graduate students and permanent; and the more, let me add parenthetically, he can feel that he transcends departmental frontiers the better, the community being a model or paradigm of the ideal—for it doesn't now exist—educated public that (ideally) makes possible at any time a performance of the function of criticism. The collaboration is essentially a creative one.

And I don't contradict that when I say that the community should see itself as essentially aiming in its work—in its total collaboration—at performing the function of criticism in our time. This proposition isn't heroic crusading elevation, but practical good sense and absolutely necessary realism *vis-à-vis* the bi-categorical and Robbinsian. I don't need to argue that there is no acquisition, no taking possession of creative work without value-judgment, and

that judgments can't be taken over; they are made in genuine personal self-commitment by each student for himself, or there is no judging, and no acquisition, so far as he is concerned. Nor need I elaborate the case about the nature of judgment that some here will feel, perhaps, I have insisted on too much. I will confine myself to a minimal reminder. The form of a judgment being "This is so, isn't it?", the question is a request for corroboration; but it is prepared for an answer in the form "Yes, but—", the "but" standing for qualifications, reservations, additions, corrections. And here we have the paradigm of the process by which the poem itself is established as something of common access standing "out there" in what is in some sense a public world. We have at the same time a pregnant hint of the nature of the Third Realm and the way in which it is creatively renewed and kept in continuous being. In my philosophical innocence I hit, let me explain, on this term as a way of laying an emphasis on that creative human reality of significance, values and non-measurable ends which our technologically-Benjaminian civilization ignores and progressively impoverishes, thus threatening human existence. It is this blankness (and it manifests itself a great deal, both among the masses and the enlightened élite, as hostility) that I have in mind when I speak of "spiritual Philistinism".

Of course, we shan't make much impression on the bi-categoricals, Annans and Robbinses—on either the conscientious or the unconscientious promoters of spiritual Philistinism—by talking about the nature of the existence of a poem. Indeed, it wouldn't be realistic to count on making a decisive impression on them even by the time I stop. Great changes are not effected so easily. When I spoke of realism I was thinking of that truth, as well as of the need to issue a clear challenge to the promoters of spiritual Philistinism at once—a challenge that will be generally recognized to be one that is immensely desirable. To try again: I was thinking of the obvious truth that, in such a world as that in which we live, it is only by cultivating the fullest understanding of what our responsibility to that world is that we shall conquer footing and licence to make a serious attempt at discharging it.

No one, it need hardly be said, with professional responsibility in a Department of English would think of an English course as a matter of some poems, or a selection of novels, or even an assortment of authors, to be studied. We all here know that as guides and concerned students of our students we are concerned with relations between works, between the creative achievements of different authors, between different pasts, and between the past and the present. These matters of consideration are generally thought of as coming under the head of Literary History. Let me say at once that I'm not at all happy about what commonly comes under that head, or about what's commonly understood by Literary History—"understood", as a matter of fact, seems to me a misleading word. Indeed, I think that the question, What is Literary History?, is one that all the members, senior and junior, of an English School ought to have steadily in mind. But I don't think they will be making what they ought of it if it doesn't bring them constantly back to another question, which is much more fundamental: What is English Literature?

It is a question to which an English School should be constantly working out the answer—not a theoretical, but a concrete answer. This is to formulate again the proposition that I threw out earlier: that an English School should conceive its business as being to perform,

or to make a serious attempt at performing, the function of criticism in our time. For English Literature has its life in the present, or not at all. It will be "there", if it is to be a present living reality, in a public that cares—and cares intelligently—about it; and that it shall be a living reality it is the function of criticism to ensure. The performance of that function implies a collaborative interplay, so that in a state of cultural health there would be more than one intelligent critic practising—there would be a whole corps of them—and there would be an expectation in an intelligent public of serious current criticism in the weekly journals and the newspapers. But the function of criticism will be far from fully performed if there is no critic writing who is not original in a major way—and "original" here means capable of the innovative criticism that, however strong the resistance, can get its essential judgments accepted by reason of their manifest irrefragability. Only such a critic, in an age when a notable change in cultivated taste, predisposition and critical assumption is called for, can make the necessary judgments about the present out of a profound and vivid sense of the relation of the present to the past.

I am not counting on the presence of such a critic in every English School—or in any. The point I've wanted to enforce is that it would be absurd not to make the most of T. S. Eliot. For if Eliot (here's my immediate emphasis) is a decisively original critic, and a critic of whom it may still be said that he belongs to our time, the discussion of his value in relation to my argument entails a critical appreciation of his whole achievement. I am a little embarrassed by my consciousness that I have twice already in public disquisitions invoked Eliot in this way—at Cheltenham recently and two years ago in my Clark lectures. But that fact, after all, only testifies to my confirmed conviction that the absurdity of not giving him to the full the attention he so obviously challenges will be recognized by everyone who confronts our problem. More bluntly, he's there, and we can't do without him. He serves incomparably well the need to introduce into the student's work from the beginning the organic structural principle or impulse in the form, necessarily, of perceptions and apprehensions that are energies, and impel to growth and living organization).

I will revert here for a moment to the head of realism. I have found myself from time to time commenting at Cambridge on the monstrous unreality of the expectation that is formally entertained of the undergraduate—the conventional (and official) assumption regarding the amount of reading and learning he can reasonably be asked to get done in his two or three years. It is, of course, only an unrealistic formal demand: it means in practice that a journalistically gifted student can refrain decidedly from overworking and get a first on a cunning investment in odds and ends. (How Margaret Drabble got a first at Cambridge I won't conjecture, but, as you know, she makes it public, and I've no doubt with truth, that she did no work.) I, myself, I suppose, might be said to expect a great deal of students. I think I do. But first let me emphasize this necessary condition: no one should be admitted to read English at any university who bent for literary study. You may call this unrealistic. I hope not; for if you are not prepared to fight with unyielding conviction, and the relevant true realism as to standards, on this issue you may as well recognize it once that the cause is lost, and that it matters very little how we should conceive the function we are supposed to stand for. I take that as granted. I take it as granted too that the

seniors in the school should be, for a start, the most part, persons interested in the subject in such a way that they take pleasure and profit in discussing it with intelligent students.

When I say, then, that the student who feels that he belongs to a collaborative community I mean something real by "collaborative". The vision of the school as a properly comparable to that of a well-influential current analogy of an intelligent plant turning out products; it will be largely in what the community is in that point I shall revert to later. Immediately, with regard to the student, as someone undergoing Higher Education, the problem of acquiring something of the meaning and organic, living reality of criticism of an age to grind. He was, obviously, affected radically, and in a desirable way, by his collaborative membership. The "function of criticism at the present time" insists on an emphasis that I intend seriously, inheres in the total collaboration which he will have felt himself to be of, and the momentous consequences for the spirit of work and his grasp of the truth that it's present, or not at all, that English Literature has its life.

And this brings me back to where I began. This is referring to the immense help in this matter of the relation between the present and the past and the way in which organic land therefore changing English Literature exists, transcending the "past" present of empiricist common sense, I got from Eliot. He offers to deal with the themes, of course, in his best-known essays, the first two in *Selected Essays*, the last of which is widely supposed to be a piece of thinking, I'll theorize, but they are not, where the critic is in question what I have in mind.

They seem to me pretensions, confined to unilluminating, and to exemplify a bad bit of French influence on Eliot. The function and use is to serve as a disfigurement of bad criticism. And this is an aspect of Eliot's value for us that has been but critical recognition of what he achieved, but critical adverse and severely limiting judgments. And it will certainly be a great advantage to a student to find himself, in the stages of his course, distinguishing evaluation in a context of preoccupation that is not his own. "Tradition and the Individual Talent", which has been found so impressive and quotable, and, on the other, the essays on the seventeenth century.

In particular, it is the one on the "Metaphysical Poets" (a review of *Metaphysical Lyrics and Poems*) that truly, with pungent effect illuminates the nature where there is a living creative continuity of the great literature, of the relation between the present and the past. I ought to add at once, in reference to the help that, in another sense, provided by J. B. Leishman. When I say that it is something for which gratitude is due, it is not just indulging in irony. That in no more tangible book as *The Monarch of the Night*, which will in any case read for its own scholarly usefulness, he should be preserved unwittingly by the author with a challenge to critical dissenting judgment is to be had a piece of good luck, and we should see challenge as a *locus classicus*. I say "because for the student who sees the judgment as inevitable and unanswerable an insight flashed in such a way as to become, not light (it is magnificently that) on the other

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# Whips and medals

Cecil King: *Strictly Personal*, 232pp. Weldon and Nicolson, £2 5s.

The top communicators grow megaphone tongues that must find it hard to achieve the intimate tone of voice demanded by autobiography. Mr. Cecil King tries hard, and the result is as baffling as it is chilling. *Strictly Personal* ought by rights to add up to a massive comedy of the modern power world. Public assurance is combined with a frankly acknowledged personal insecurity, so that we seem to have a grandee of our time weighed down by golden shoulder-chips. But laughter is not invited, though it is occasionally achieved, and when that happens it tends to be sick.

The end of telling all—and this is another potential comic element—can still leave so much unrevealed. Except, of course, the facts. The biographers have been short on these concerning Lord Northcliffe's sex life, and Mr. King conscientiously fills them in without, we can't help but feel, adding much to our essential knowledge of the man. Cecil was Northcliffe's favourite nephew, and Northcliffe was the eldest of fourteen Harmsworth children. "Of these, eleven grew up. This was a great burden for my grandfather, who did not like children. My mother was much the same."

One of the curiosities of this book is the contrast between Mr. King's icy attitude to his family and the charming pictures of his childhood he has chosen to include in it. We see the little King wearing his party frock, taking his first walk in what looks like a fast solar top, merrily driving in the nursery donkey cart. We are not meant to be deceived for long. He sets out to show us the deprivations hidden behind the smiles of that supposedly happy and privileged childhood. He insists that he lacked love, if not money, and now has no dividends of affection to return. Of

those eleven surviving Harmsworths, five grew rich, two immensely so. "My uncles had made so much money that I felt I must see whether I could do so too," he could.

But money was not enough, and Mr. King soon found himself deep in the quest for professional power and in the struggle with the temperament which was his true heritage. The pages where he puts himself on the "analyst's couch" are the most interesting and the most baffling. His lack of social and money shyness in their more obvious forms is in itself nothing remarkable. That is commonplace these days among the eminent; indeed, not to have it would be eccentric. It has nothing to do with modesty. In Mr. King's case there is an elaborate display of humility which, if we could be sure it was accurate, would be quite the most significant aspect of his book. Yet it is hard to get to grips with. Every self-deprecating claim is offset by a counterclaim. He tells us that he always saw himself as a "second rate intellectual" but came to discover that he had strong intuitive powers.

At the same time he confesses that when he talks to people he never knows what they are thinking. And his book indicates that he lacks any real aptitude for presenting personality, least of all when trying to describe those most close to him. He tells us that he was his mother's favourite child, adding in the next breath that she took no interest in him. "She was no mother to her children and no wife to her husband." Nor, for all her high intelligence, beauty and force of character, did she "achieve anything at all outside the family circle either." At least he gives her the benefit of the doubt about being lesbian.

Is it the second-class intellect or the first-class intuition that makes him so censorious? He is ruthlessly impartial with the lash he cracks around the world. It is not just his family; few, great or small, escape

whipping. Winston Churchill was wildly overpraised and the most self-centred man Mr. King ever knew. Atlee's capability was purely negative. Gaitskill was an awkward customer who began by facing the wrong way over Suez. (So, Mr. King apparently forgets, did the *Daily Mirror* before taking the brave stand that lost it a lot of readers.) Gandhi was "a very unimpressive man to meet, small, ugly and insignificant." John Kennedy was a "compulsive womanizer" though with the makings of greatness. Robert Kennedy "a little man in a hurry". True, the Americans on the whole come off better than the British, with a bronze medal for Nixon "certainly not a great man, but... highly intelligent, immensely hard-working, exceedingly well-informed".

It is affecting to find that the only unqualified praise on the home front goes to his old *Mirror* colleague Hugh

Cudlipp, whom Mr. King hails as the best popular newspaper editor of his day and a one-man repository of all the journalistic virtues. Mr. Cudlipp, it seems, has another advantage. "He has picked up from me a habit of looking ahead which, once acquired, cannot be forgotten."

But it turns out there are others Cecil King can tolerate. He is knowledgeable about Africans and, wonderful to relate, likes them. Or is it so surprising? Mr. Anthony Sampson once quoted him as saying, "I identify myself with the underdog. I can't think why." Well, now he has been thinking and comes up with some clues. He maintains that an inferiority complex was systematically established in him by his family, so that even today he claims to be astonished when anything he is responsible for turns out right.

## Joined by chance

DUDLEY BARKER: *Prominent Edwardians*, 254pp. Allen and Unwin, £2 5s.

The four essays in *Prominent Edwardians*, written with liveliness and recurring irreverence, might be likened to the stars of a rocket; they are joined by chance in time but emerge for their moment of glory, disconnected and distinct. Mr. Barker makes a respectful bow in the direction of Lytton Strachey, but Strachey's essays on the Victorians had visible in each character a common sense of high purpose which lent unity to the whole. Whether Mr. Barker might have found a connecting theme by digging rather deeper in the period is possible. He might, for instance, have glanced at the symposium *Edwardian England*, published in 1964, and especially at

the chapters by Professor Asa Briggs and Miss Margherita Laski.

We might perhaps be justified in arguing that the four characters—prominent in life as each was—yet shuffled off the stage in bleak despair. Was that possibly characteristic of the Edwardians? While the "happy quest" of Matthew Arnold's *Thyrsis* may have been sufficient satisfaction for the Victorians, it could be argued that the Edwardians expected the quest to lead to some achievement at once tangible and material.

With Lord Lansdowne, Mr. Barker would not seem to have been at ease. He has depended almost entirely on Lord Newton's biography, which he has dislaid, adding from time to time a dash of vinegar. His essay wanders off at the finish with the weight of the last fish caught by Lansdowne, but surely the close of his life

was illumined by courage just as few? The conventional positive statement—and he does not wordily by affirming the possibility of negotiated peace with the Germans in 1917 invited and received the stings of his old comrades, the victors of the Harmsworth brother and possibly the worst of all—theirizing approval of the pacifist.

The most original of the four Mr. Barker's study of Mr. Balfour. He shows how it was that for her nature to be domestic and that it in fact was—Balfour, then by a French schoolmaster, and later by her remarkable daughter, Cristabel. Though agree with this, readers may find it difficult to reconcile Mr. Barker's argument with his conclusion that at the end of the suffrage campaign Mr. Balfour became a demonic figure, dominating a demon?

## lost bearings

Stanley Jackson: *Come Along With Me*. Edited by Stanley Hyman. 243pp. Michael Joseph, 30s.

Stanley's most famous story "The Lottery", which was published in *The New Yorker* in 1948, has been a landmark in the time. This and other well known stories are collected in *Come Along With Me*, a selection of Stanley Jackson's work since his death in 1965 by his wife, Stanley Edgar Hyman.

His unpublished stories, an original and three short lectures, which offer short glimpses to beginners about the art of story-telling, could give a reader that Shirley Jackson had nothing more than a "Yankee style" to flourish his discoveries. Her comic sense, about the absurdities of family life, usually her own, fully close to fitting such a case, though they are marked, though it is by a cunning and an eyes quite outside the scope

of the lecturer's modest account of her own writing.

Most of the stories, though, are quite different. They are dream-like, terrifying, memorable, with characters who lose their bearings; their homes, their names or their identities, and are sent off on explorations of their phantoms selves and rarely allowed to return. In one of her lectures Miss Jackson advises her listeners to keep their fictional characters consistent, for "a character who breaks out of a pattern is shocking and generally insane". Something very like this happens in all the best stories here. A girl leaves home on the day of her sister's wedding. When she returns four years later her family do not recognize her, they regard her as an impostor. She accepts this as the reader does, for she is by now an impostor. Wives leave home to find themselves, to experiment with freedom, only to discover there is no way home, the house is gone and the self that went with it. Husbands and homes are a particular obsession, strange and hypnotic in themselves, they have special powers to assist or break their inhabitants' sense of reality.

Some of Miss Jackson's characters

## three kinds of trauma

Lucas: *Drowning*, 188pp. Harvill, 30s.  
Hutchinson: *A Part of the Main*, 25s.  
Hutchinson: *Happy When Rain Clouds*, 188pp. Gollancz.

Passing two stifling matter, he sharply expressed in family stenographer's prose notes for a novel and a homosexual hook re-also hovers nervously on the edge of both marriages, is seen to rather free time of it for able to indulge fantasies of pleasure and perfect friend-ship, without having to reconcile them to demands of everyday life. In marriage the wife is driven in-cause her husband refuses her to sever his ties with his no, and doomed, because the elopes of constitutional nature, and obsessive and immature both in asserting the royal pro- live over foreign policy and in ceasing from his misadventures. The king's conduct during German occupation, though admirable, turns out to be less than his earlier behaviour.

There is a marked contrast between the severity of M. Spaak's criticism of King Leopold and his endorsement of the generosity of his comments on most of his other leagues and foreign contemporaries. Naturally an exception must be made for the German Ambassador, who came to inform him of Hitler's "ventive action" in 1940, and was rebuffed by the thunderous "Moi d'abord!" There were sharp brushes on a lesser scale French ministers after the war, and with President Roosevelt in the war. For his other allies, ever, M. Spaak has unrelenting criticism, especially for Churchill and Truman; and his respect for Eden is carried over to the operation of the Egyptian in 1956 was "justified by the unquestionable violation of the Treaty of 1888", though not a Treaty of 1888, though not a Treaty of 1888, though not a Treaty of 1888.

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flies to England. The author has surrounded Anna with caricature figures: gauche and lecherous medical students, helpless foreigners, hysterical landladies. This may be deliberate, for their unreason mirrors Anna's very crude sense of other people's individuality and is offered too as a characterization of emigre life, in which differences of language and background distort communication and intensify feelings of isolation. None the less, the contrast between the carefully and sympathetically drawn Anna and the harsh simplifications which surround her damages the novel, and so do those passages which explain Anna's frigidity in terms of an adolescence spent in children's homes in Paris, where her only friend was an American cousin, whom she loved and who turned out to be homosexual. For Anna is quite adequately explained by her present life, and the pinpointing of particular and traumatic moments in a past which must have been full of such moments seems arbitrary and distracting.

When *Rain Clouds Gather* is an intelligent and moving African novel set in a village in Botswana. The area is poor, undermined by traditional subsistence farming and by the rule of two chiefs, brothers, whose personal enmity results in hardship and neglect for the villagers. Gilbert, an idealist and agricultural expert from England, has managed to introduce at least the beginning of cooperative farming and a switch to the cultivation of crops which can be sold. To the same village comes Makaya, a political refugee from South Africa, shell-shocked by his experiences, who has barely the energy left to do more than dream of a time when Africans will be rich enough to trample the white population into extinction. Gilbert's practicality and his innocence cause him, and the novel is about the two men's efforts to get the village women to grow enough tobacco so that their men can abandon impractical cattle farming.

In fact, it is an appalling drought which brings this about, an irony which Gilbert exploits in the interest of his own plans and of the village, which has been disrupted by the men's absence for most of each year at distant estate stations. The problems—agricultural, social, geographical—and the methods tried by Gilbert, who is a sort of English Dole, to alleviate them, are described compellingly. The author's grasp is less sure in those more visionary moments, which look to some kind of Christian brotherhood, winnowed of its white associations, as the answer to Africa's larger problems and to the individual's desecration of his own dignity and powers.

## No joy

STANLEY MIDDLETON: *Wages of Virtue*, 256pp. Hutchinson, 30s.

The title of Stanley Middleton's ninth novel comes from King Lear: "All friends shall taste the wages of their virtue." But Albany's promise comes rather too late in the play to do much good; and the hero of this novel gets little joy from his virtues—which are honesty and a determined obedience to his conscience. We follow this young Midlander's career from his school days to his reluctant acceptance of his embarrassing and lonely role as a conscientious director in the Second World War. Virtue must be its own reward: the wages of sin might seem less dismal.

He is the son of a quiet man, a works foreman and amateur musician, and an assertive woman—the kind who will not compromise with authority: she calls at his school and prevents him from suffering any just punishment. On leaving school, he works as a clerk: his principal leisure activities are music-making and a chapel discussion group. He mixes with eccentric young pacifists and socialists, and takes their views

from "Portnoy's complaint"—demanding ethical standards and overpowering, unsatisfied lust.

Here is one of his school-friends: The whole body swung slight so that the creased dress, the shabby blazer danced across her, shouted her hoyden youth, her tautly moving beauty. The neck a brown hollow, day-bright hair, scuffed shoes, wrinkle of stocking, and straight, boy, to her shoulder.

The level tone of Stanley Middleton's writing breaks into something more wild in such passages. He does not always bring it off.

His voice rasped hoarse, drained thin of strength, dangling midway between the red heat of blood behind his eyes and the surge to brute bursting in his loins. He could not understand why he sat in this chair, why he did not meet, scethe in seminal acid, arms strung, body white-hot wires between these throbbing centres of hard lust.

Many readers will wish that he had thinned down these metaphorical passages. Certainly they convey the turmoil of adolescent desire, but they tend to jar with the gravity and precision of the rest of the narrative—since otherwise the novel offers an extraordinarily interesting and concerned account of a life which might be thought dull and dowdy.

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## Mess observation

MARTIN GILBERT (Editor): *Lloyd George: Great Lives Observed*, 182pp. Prentice-Hall, £2 10s.

Lloyd George is peculiarly suited for the treatment of the "Great Lives Observed" series, in which famous men speak for themselves, are assessed by their contemporaries and judged by writers on behalf of subsequent history. His character was so diverse that, like the Cullinan diamond, we can best see what he was really like through the eyes of those who knew him at the height of his brilliance before he was cut to fashion by time and the fancy of a later generation of historians. By his immediate successors in politics he was no doubt undervalued; they had no real understanding of what Lloyd George meant to his immediate col-

leagues and especially in Churchill. When Churchill wished him included in his government of 1940 he was supposed to have said to the members of his government: "One hour of the Right Honourable Gentleman's time is worth a full working day of anyone I see round this table."

Two things maul Lloyd George's reputation today—the Lloyd George fund and his supposed seizure of power in 1916. Mr. Gilbert in his introduction adopts the conventional (though superficial) view of the fund. No doubt it will one day receive serious historical attention; at the moment it rests too insecurely on anecdotes about the sale of peerages and the intervention of that melancholy scoundrel, Maundy Gregory. The funds collected by the Coalition Government were divided between the Conservative Party (though cour-

age is needed to remind ourselves of this fact) and the Coalition Liberal Party. When the Coalition Liberals virtually merged with the Liberal Party they did not—use a phrase of the first Lord Sainsbury—bring the golden calf with them. That remained with their prophet and leader. But there is this to be said in justice to Lloyd George. There was a world of difference between the Coalition Liberals (initially anti-socialist) who had garnered the fund and the Liberal Party of the early 1920s (flirting with socialism) who wished to spend it. How would the contributors to the fund have viewed this? Moreover, some part of the money—a benefaction from the first Lord Astor—is in point here—was personal to Lloyd George in gratitude for his war leadership and to strengthen the redoubts against socialism.

The most provocative part of the book is the chapter by Mr. Cameron Hazlehurst. This is a previously unpublished lecture, delivered at Nuffield College, and no doubt the author will later trim up one or two passages—notably the sneer that in 1916 Asquith was more dependent than ever on the "comforts" of alcohol. But Mr. Hazlehurst is unquestionably correct in suggesting that the essential ingredient in Asquith's fall was his own reluctance to go on. He also suggests, and again correctly, that this was to part a tired reaction to Lloyd George's "insatiable power lust". Mr. Hazlehurst also carries conviction when he argues that far too much has been made by historians of the "cash" of personalities. Although this chapter may carry conviction that too much has been made of the "conspiracy myth" it does not have to take into account that Asquith at the time, and his colleagues and followers long after his death, were convinced that Lloyd George forced his way into Downing Street over the bodies of his chief and comrades. Such convictions, which were so widely held, rest on something more than imagination.

## Unfinished

PAUL-HENRI SPAAK: *Combats Inachevés*, 315pp. Paris: Fayard, 22fr.

Paul-Henri Spaak became Foreign Minister of Belgium for the first time in 1939, and relinquished the post for the last time more than thirty years later. In between he held other important posts of a more international character. President of the General Assembly of the United Nations, President of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe, Secretary-General of Nato; besides holding office more than once as Prime Minister. His career is one of outstanding interest to British students of international politics for more than one reason: because of the permanent importance of Belgium to the defence of our islands, because of the historic era spanned by his active life, and because of the influential role he has played in shaping the international institutions to which Britain belongs. *Combats Inachevés* is the first of two volumes: it comprises his autobiography from 1936 to 1955, but the arrangement is not rigidly chronological. For example, some later events (including the Suez crisis of 1956) are included here, and it is clear from the table of contents that the second volume will revert to some earlier events, such as the Marshall Plan.

Undoubtedly these memoirs make a valuable contribution to contemporary history. They give much new information about events in which M. Spaak played a major part; and they are written with commendable frankness, but without rancour. For the professional historian his account of the evolution of various international bodies, beginning with Benelux (first mooted in London in 1941), will have special importance. Even more interesting to British readers will be his examination of the difficult relationship between the Belgian king and his ministers before, during and after the German invasion in 1940. M. Spaak is not of course a

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# The Tudor saint

E. E. REYNOLDS: *The Field is Won*, 396pp. Burns and Oates, £2 10s.  
 RAINIER PINAS: *Thomas More and Tudor Politics*, 262pp. Indiana University Press (American University Publishers Group), £4 10s. 6d.

Mr. Reynolds is the doyen of More scholars in this country. He has already written four books on More and his circle, and is inclined to feel that this third requires justification. Most readers will be prepared to trust Mr. Reynolds on this point: it is his unremitting research has revealed enough material to justify a new study, so much the better. Nevertheless it is interesting to read through the list of new material in the preface of *The Field is Won*: besides innumerable minor facts rescued from the still unmined resources of Tudor documents, there have been several volumes of a complete edition of More's works, a study of his portrait, a collection of new letters compiled by Dr. Hinrichs von Herberg, the discovery of the manuscript of More's Latin *Paschalis* and the annotations in his Psalter. Mr. Reynolds himself has discovered a new and critical transcript of the exchange between More and Richard Rich, one of the main sources of evidence against More at his trial.

With all this, it is not surprising that Mr. Reynolds has felt encouraged to undertake a full-scale biography of More—the first since R. W. Chambers' *Thomas More*, published in 1935. He has produced a readable and comprehensive account, balanced and fair yet tinged with that warmth and sympathy which cannot be withheld from any consideration of More and his circle. The known facts of his life are all punctiliously deployed, and much recent specialist research is admirably and conveniently summarized. Mr. Reynolds may lack something of the breadth and generosity of Chambers, but there is a great deal more in his book. Its faults are few: an over-black picture of Wolsey (whose earlier administration More himself praised), a rather perfunctory account of the later writings (too sizable, admittedly, for extended comment)—these are small things to set beside the value of having an up-to-date and accurate record.

Every now and again Mr. Reynolds lets fall some indication of the amount of detailed research he has himself undertaken. The Rich conversation was not a casual find. One unfinished speculation concerns More's step-daughter, Alice Middleton, who married first Thomas Elrington, and second Giles Allington. When More's daughters were married on the same day (September 29, 1525), it was at Giles Allington's chapel at Willesden. Mr. Reynolds has discovered that the Allingtons owned no property at Willesden, but the Elringtons did, and it was bequeathed in 1577 by a Thomas Elrington to

More's grandson, Thomas More of Ilthorpe. An interesting footnote to the More family history, and typical of Mr. Reynolds's thorough work.

Professor Pinas has produced in *Thomas More and Tudor Politics* a consecutive version of a group of articles all on the same theme. He has taken the texts of the heretical books which More undertook to answer, and the text of More's replies, and subjected them to a detailed and careful scrutiny to see which stood up best in terms of controversial technique, accuracy, style, and so on. This study yields two important results. First, it shows how little there was to choose between them when it came to playing fair: both sides misquoted, committed *suggestio falsi* and *suggestio veri*, and used every rhetorical trick they could. Secondly, it shows how different and how far the case of the two major antagonists, More and Tyndale, subtle were the techniques employed.

The longest part of the book deals with the long battle between More and Tyndale, beginning with More's *Dialogue concerning heresies* written in 1529 against Tyndale's *The Parable of the wicked man and the obedient of a Christian man*, published the year before, and ending with More's unfinished answer to Tyndale's *The Cooper of the Lorde*. On the whole, Tyndale had the state of it. He had the advantage of attacking where More was defending: his use of scripture to mean anything he wanted was novel; and most important, his prose-style—his deeply influential, incomparable style—set a standard of directness and immediacy which made More's own more circuitous (if equally vivid) prose seem a trifle old-fashioned. Here is Tyndale on the Pope's claim to bind and loose in purgatory:

That I permit unto him: for it is a creature of his own making. He also byndeth the unguels. For we read of Popes that commanded the unguels to set divers out of Purgatory. Howbeit I am not certified whether they obeyed or no.

More's skill lay more in characterization. His skill in engaging the reader's sympathy, his (often disingenuous) moderation in approaching the works of his opponents, his own humility (notwithstanding the confidence he feels in the Church he is defending), all these are immediately attractive. Against all but Tyndale, More has the best of the argument—an astonishing achievement since he was writing at the height of his career, evidently too busy to revise what he wrote.

*Thomas More and Tudor Politics* reveals an astonishing sense of detachment, which rarely deserts Professor Pinas.

Detachment is still rare enough in sixteenth-century studies to be praised, but there is something almost inhuman in his lack of involvement. Perhaps it would be more credible if the background to the controversial scene were deployed, but too

often the book reads as if the texts had nothing but the texts had been typed into a computer which sorted them and decided, on some system of dialectical points, who was the winner. We are still too easily impressed by computers. It is remarkable not that they can do a job well, but that they can do it at all. All the same, to enter into the fray of sixteenth-century religious controversy with the express purpose of examining the contestants' arguments without taking sides is a remarkable achievement. Errors are few: the Hunne case is not such a clear case of murder as Ogle (whom he regards as a deceiver) made out, and Pollard in his *Wolsey* did not commit himself to this view. One misses a little explanation of the subject matter, which would account for More's changes of tactics. Against Friar More was savage because he was attacking the basis of religion as More understood it; against St. German, much less so since clerical oppression of the laity had been one of the themes of *Utopia* in 1516. Professor Pinas makes a very good point when he shows that More's arguments against Fish's *Supplication of the beggars* indicate how well he realized the temptation that the religious estates might be to the king.

Pour More, honest with affairs of state and yet compelled to defend the full front of the Church in England against it. He would hardly have been to blame if he had taken Tyndale's advice to "keep your time and unto all thing say know, know, we be the church & can not erre." As it was, he wrote and wrote: the major part of his complete works dates from this period. *Thomas More and Tudor Politics* has contributed notably to our understanding of this, and of the whole milieu in which it was written.

## The ruffian reconsidered

J. J. SCARISBRICK: *Henry VIII*, 561pp. Eyre and Spottiswoode, £3 15s.

Layman and specialist alike have nixed their opinions of Henry VIII, and the range of their verdicts is wide. To an amateur like Charles Dickens, for example, this king was a most intolerable ruffian, a disgrace to human nature, and a blot of blood and grease upon the history of England. To A. F. Pollard, recognized master of Tudor history, whose biography of the king has long been the classic study of this controversial figure, he was the most remarkable man who ever sat upon the English throne.

Some sixty-five years have passed since this judgment was written. They have been years of intensive research into the sources and problems of early sixteenth-century history, much of it done by Pollard and L. S. London school of history; and, naturally, many problems have been unearthed and many opinions have been raised calling for a revision of some traditional opinions about the king and his reign. Mr. Scarisbrick is justified in his contention that the numerous source materials and the articles now available illuminate many features of the reign, and call for a fresh assessment.

So far so good. Difficulties arise when decisions have to be taken about the unbecoming of the new biography. It is always irksome to decide, when dealing with ruling sovereigns, where the dividing line should be drawn between the public and private life of the ruler. Mr. Scarisbrick has solved the problem in *Henry VIII* by following to some extent his own special inclinations. As he says, his book is neither a private life of Henry VIII nor a comprehensive study of his reign. It is, rather, something in between: an attempt to see the king as well as the man, to consider the life not merely in its personal and domestic aspects but also against the background of close bearing upon the king's private life. Of course, this means, as Mr.

Karl H. Dannenfeldt: *Leonhard Rauwolf*, 321pp. Harvard University Press, London: Oxford University Press, £3 16s.

Leonhard Rauwolf, after whom the medicinal herb, *Rauwolfia* (Apocynaceae) was named, a Hessian physician, botanist and traveller, published an account in Swabian dialect of his travels and observations in the Near East (1573-1575) but little other biographical detail has been available. K. H. Dannenfeldt has now prepared an absorbing biography, written against a contemporary background drawn from other writers.

Rauwolf's early life was spent in Augsburg, a trading and banking centre. Raised in a strong Lutheran tradition which he retained throughout his life, he attended German, French and Italian universities to study medicine and eventually selected Montpellier because of its high reputation. Among the interesting details he records that the university students were admitted to limited rights, one of which was that they might "consult with the doctors on what lectures should be given" and have "due regard to the ability of the instructors". Subsequently taking his doctorate at the University of Valencia (Diplomed) he returned to Augsburg to practise. Retaining his interest in field botany and especially in medicinal plants he travelled in Italy and Switzerland and began to prepare an herbarium, now in the Rijks Museum, Leiden.

Later he took a long and perilous journey to the Near East, a delightful account of which forms a major part of the book. Sailing from Marseille he reached Tripoli after a very stormy passage, proceeded eastwards collecting plants whenever possible, travelling over high mountains, deserts and through lush valleys where silk was produced and cereals

the long-drawn proceedings of the papal curia in which Henry Wolsey were so involved, do as they were to end in failure, leading to the next phase of drama of the reign, Henry's five moves against the papacy. The ecclesiastical Anglican, Mr. Scarisbrick's conclusion is distinctly of the king: he makes a strong case for his judgment that Henry ruined his chances of success by negotiations with Rome by giving the right arguments.

The specialist will find many problems discussed in *Henry VIII* will undoubtedly give rise to controversy, and call for further research before confident conclusions can be reached. The general reader will find a portrait of the man which, though it differs greatly from Pollard's idea of the "patriotic king", is certainly more critical—one must almost have said censorious.

Pollard's admiration for a young man with a powerful physique, looks, athletic versatility, and a pressing contrast: an aging, cunning, stable, vindictive, opinionated self-willed—the victim of circumstances very largely of his own making. Mr. Scarisbrick has made good use of his opportunities, and by diligent research, wide reading, and a fluent style has produced a readable account of a perplexing character. He has said the last word? Perhaps not. Indeed, he has not. When Bishop Burnet had the right answer: "How far King Henry VIII was a tyrant, and how far a saint, is a question which has been debated since his death, and will be debated as long as the world shall last."

and fruits were cultivated in the which was the great trading centre of North Syria, crowded with merchants and caravans, he observed the preparation and drinking of the fee and the sale in bazaars of the medicinal plants and manna. The trip down the Euphrates was rough and the boat was gone for a while at Deir where he was "strange willow" in fact, *Populus euphratica* on which the local great trading centre for horses, jewels, and a European spring were in December.

On learning of the financial of the agent in Aleppo who represented he returned across Tigris and followed a newly caravan route to Mosul. Then he went over high ranges to the Euphrates and back to Tigris. Aleppo where his botanical interests had been suspected. Deeply by a visit to the Holy Land, his religious conviction and his knowledge are especially evident. Returning to Augsburg by way of a journey lasting three months, he resumed his medical practice, maintained his botanical interests, and wrote the travel book. He died during the religious disturbances of the late sixteenth century and died at Warten in 1583. An excellent example of the early explorers: deterred neither by winter nor the traversing of horrid deserts, nor wild and roaring seas, his quest for knowledge of places, customs and plants, observed the task of British rule in Africa led to the adoption in day, translations from the Arabic of administration and finance, lists of plants and their localities, as well as a bibliography and detailed notes complete this scholarly work.

East of Africa has been a network of Indian trade routes from the earliest times, but it was Portuguese supremacy in the recovery of the influence in Zanzibar of the East India Company and the establishment of British rule in India and the East India Company's supremacy in the Indian Ocean after the Napoleonic Wars. There was a close relationship between European and Indian merchants, who provided the main banking and financial services available in Zanzibar during most of the nineteenth century and financed trade to the interior, and the early European explorers such as Burton and Speke. After the partition of East Africa between Britain and Germany in 1886, the resources of the British Empire in India were added as an adjunct to the opening up of the interior. The best known example of this was the reliance on Indian resources, of men and material, for the building of the Uganda Railway. The numbers were certainly considerable. In the five years from 1896 to 1901 a total of 32,000 indentured Indian workers were recruited. However, allowing for those who died, were invalided home or went home normally at the end of their contract, only about 6,000 Indian reinforcements for service in East Africa came and went and there was a certain amount of recruitment of Indian civilians to subordinate posts in the East African Governments.

The most important part of the penetration of the interior was voluntary immigration of traders. German East Africa shared in this development, and pioneering caravans made their way beyond the borders of German East Africa into Uganda, Kenya and parts of the Congo Free State and the southern Sudan. These pioneer traders were of great assistance to governments in such matters as transport, the purchase of local produce and supplies of officers to outposts. The bigger men played an important part in building up Mombasa and Nairobi and the smaller men pioneered the establishment of local trading centres and Indian bazaars. Even when official policy switched from the encouragement of Indian immigration to the encouragement of European settlement, Indian voluntary immigration continued unchecked for a long time. The Indians' entrepreneurial skills enabled them to help the country and the government in many different ways by opening up the Reserves and helping the transition to a money economy. In Uganda small Indian traders were the first to undertake virtually all the purchase and collection of the cotton crop when production began in 1903.

The character of Indian settlement was largely shaped by political and racial controversies generated by the conflicts between European and Indian immigrants. The fields laid down in the three-tier system were broadly commerce and subordinate employment, and they were left to the Asians because no European could compete in them. Political capital was early made against the Asians on the ground of insanitary and over-crowded conditions in the Indian areas. Other allegations were unfair methods of trading and being a bad influence on the Africans. The aim was to keep Indians segregated in the towns and to keep them out of the Highlands. Later the aim was to stop Indian immigration altogether, an aim not achieved until 1949. Politically the settlers first opposed Indian representation on the Legislative Council, and then fought for a limited amount of communal representation as opposed to the common roll for which the Indians, increasingly pressed.

The Indian Question was ventilated before the First World War, but the most acute period of racial conflict was the twenty years between the wars when European settlers were fighting for political supremacy, often with the help of pro-settler governors, and saw the Indians as a threat to the whole British position in East Africa. The one Indian weapon in the conflict was boycott of representative institutions at all levels. An important stage in the conflict was the 1923 White Paper on Indians in Kenya which gave them five seats on Legislative Council elected on a communal franchise but otherwise made no change in their position as regards the Highlands or urban segregation or any other grievance. This was the

nationalists were already primarily motivated by jealousy of the strength of the Indian economic position and they had already determined to assert African paramountcy economically and to end the three-tier system that had prevailed between Europeans, Asians and Africans in trade, industry and the civil service. This commitment with them even before independence was attained that any gentleness they might have felt to Indian leaders for help to Africans in reaching their position of ascendancy. Although the association of Indian merchants with East Africa is very old and dates back to before the European Middle Ages, Indian settlement in East Africa and the great importance of Indian traders, industrialists, artisans, clerks and professional workers are something that is associated in time with British supremacy in India and East Africa and may end soon.

From early in the nineteenth century Indian trade in East Africa was auxiliary to British trade and colonial effort. The British established influence in Zanzibar by means of Indian merchants there. By 1860 there were nearly 6,000 Indian merchants in Zanzibar and others had spread all along the East African coast. There was a close relationship between European and Indian merchants, who provided the main banking and financial services available in Zanzibar during most of the nineteenth century and financed trade to the interior, and the early European explorers such as Burton and Speke. After the partition of East Africa between Britain and Germany in 1886, the resources of the British Empire in India were added as an adjunct to the opening up of the interior. The best known example of this was the reliance on Indian resources, of men and material, for the building of the Uganda Railway. The numbers were certainly considerable. In the five years from 1896 to 1901 a total of 32,000 indentured Indian workers were recruited. However, allowing for those who died, were invalided home or went home normally at the end of their contract, only about 6,000 Indian reinforcements for service in East Africa came and went and there was a certain amount of recruitment of Indian civilians to subordinate posts in the East African Governments.

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White Paper which asserted the paramountcy of African rights in Kenya. The author's conclusion is that this meant that the only positive achievement of the inter-war Indian political agitation in Kenya was that the grant of responsible self-government to a European minority was ruled out.

The decrease in importance of the struggle in Kenya for the whole of East Africa derived from the size of the two immigrant communities in the country. By 1948 Kenya had a population of 971,000 Indians, Uganda 35,000, Tanganyika 46,000 and Zanzibar 14,000. In Uganda and Tanganyika the situation was always more harmonious than that in Kenya, and the Indian Question in Tanganyika as in Uganda tended to be dominated more by economic grievances arising out of the government's regulation and control of trade than by strictly political considerations. Nevertheless, political life in Tanganyika and Uganda was always very sensitive to what happened in Kenya and in both countries the political role of Indians for the rest of the colonial period. Moves towards the closer union of the three countries emanating from Kenya and Britain were viewed with suspicion by Asians, as by Africans. In Tanganyika and Uganda as bringing all three countries under the domination of the Kenya white minority.

In all three countries, then, the Indians were firmly relegated to a tolerated middle position in the three-tier system which meant a contrast with the early years in which they were consciously associated with the imperial effort. Although their role remained one of subordinate employment and commercial enterprise throughout the colonial period, the

the economy of the island was dependent on external trade. British in its commercial and industrial aspects, with a powerful British interest in the sugar industry. Since he attained power he has done much for his country. The American base at Chaguaramas in Trinidad was one of those exchanged for destroyers during the First World War, and the area it occupied was desired as the site of the capital of the short-lived West Indies Federation.

It was soon evident to the unregenerate left behind to soldier on in Old Australia that all was not as plain sailing for the New Australians as their unusually baleful passage round the Horn. As the years went by seeders who drifted back spread a rumour of fiasco. But this Utopia was too distant to communicate the hard facts of its dispersal, and it has been left to Mr. Souter, two generations after the event, to piece together the yellowing records of a confused and sorry tale. What he found after exhaustive research rather belies the title of his book: *A Peculiar People*. The people who fell in behind William Lane—and many of them come briefly and humbly to life in these pages—were mostly true to type in their Australian earthiness. They were not peculiar enough by far to make a reality of his dream, and he was not

Indians did not stand still. There was a transition from the small-scale enterprise of the early years to large-scale business undertakings. With the rise in their standards of living, increasing numbers of Indians were able to invest in large-scale enterprises in cotton, food and other industries, and they played an important part in every conceivable business activity. The community that formed itself in East Africa was increasingly well educated because of its self-sacrifice in the cause of higher education and help from government and a developed as a professional and commercial leadership.

From being a community emigrating from Indian villages, the Indians settled down as a community concentrated in African towns, mainly Dar es Salaam, Zanzibar, Tanga, Mombasa, Nairobi and Kampala. Adaptation to the East African environment and British institutions and education meant far-reaching changes in society and the loosening of the initially strong links with India in spite of the part that Congress played in the East African struggle. Indian society remained largely intact, however, a conglomerate of a series of closely knit castes and sects, which partly exploited the hostility of Europeans and the lukewarm responses of the Africans to any overtures of friendship. Until the eve of the First World War Muslims were the majority; later the Hindu population rapidly increased, the diversity of the old established Zanzibar communities, being accentuated by the new immigrant groups from Gujarat and the Punjab. But the whole community was without religion except in Tanganyika—an important source of weakness when serious trouble came on independence.

## New Australians

GAVIN SOUTER: *A Peculiar People*, 309pp. Angus and Robertson, £3 9s. 6d.

In 1893-94 there was a peculiar happening in south eastern Australia. A mixed lot of bush workers and small tradesmen, some tall in all, uprooted themselves with their families and sailed round the Horn to their promised land of Paraguay, about as far away as they could get. They were smouldering with the frustrations and resentments of acute industrial unrest, they were land-hungry and wanted to get out and start again. So they listened to William Lane, a radical journalist of Brisbane—a visionary and a prodigious worker and talker—and were fired by his assurance that Utopia was just round the corner for those with the courage to escape from capitalist bondage.

He gave them a long name—the New Australia Co-operative Settlement Association—a blueprint for their New Australia, and a plausible sketch of the financial arrangements which at sixty pounds a head would take them to their settlement in a land whose government, because it was used to revolutions (but of another sort), would welcome them with open arms. Working in mutual trust for the good of all, communal prosperity would ensure the good of every member of the commune. Equality of status and work and moral rectitude was to be the surest way to bounteous dividends.

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in strict enough command of his honest idealism to discipline them along the path he would have them go. The external pressures against which they rebelled and from which they had escaped were replaced only by internal ones. There was milk and honey enough in their new land, but they were free only to fight each other, overtly or covertly, in their self-seeking drive to better themselves.

Before the first shipload reached Asuncion, the movement had fallen apart into two factions: those whom Lane trusted, and those who distrusted Lane. This pattern of petty rivalry, suspicion and intrigue never resolved itself: soon they had to separate into two warring settlements. William Lane resigned in 1898 and became a visionary of a more familiar colour—an Australian imperialist. His brother John, a less emotional character, succeeded him, but in 1904 he too was beaten by this Utopia that would not grow up, and with his departure the New Australians lost their spiritual identity. A hard core held on stoically in hope of the final dividend at the winding-up of the Association. Those who did not go home or move on lived through several Paraguayan revolutions as Paraguayan settlers.

When Mr. Souter arrived for a brief visit in 1966 he was met on the long abandoned sites of the fellowship by a few old men and women who had come as children in the first batch, and a few children who hardly remembered their origin. He had come a long way in their tracks. It is for future historians of Australia to decide whether this long, muddled, pathetic story merits more than a footnote, but at least they will thank Mr. Souter for clearing the ground for them so very thoroughly in *A Peculiar People*.

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## Elusive dames

IVOR BROWN: *The Women in Shakespeare's Life*, 224pp. Bodley Head, 30s.

This book is not as inflammatory as its title would suggest. What Mr. Brown offers is a series of studies of Elizabethan female life, of which the best parts are social history rather than biography. Of course far too little is known about the women in Shakespeare's life to write a whole book about them: the identity, even the existence, of one of them—she is referred to here as "A Pair of Dark Eyes"—remains strictly putative. But Mr. Brown builds up what he can around the indisputable women—mother, wife, and two daughters. In part he re-tells Shakespeare's biography from their (somewhat predictably personal) angle. Much has to be firmly conjectured or a weighing of the conjectures of others. And some is pleasant vamping: reports on Anne's "long, hard day" to a "densely populated farmhouse", Mary's opinions on her husband's way

with dung-heaps, and Susanna's desire to keep noisome medical preparations out of the house.

Beyond this a real, though slight, picture is given of the life of the time, more vividly perhaps in those sections of the book which do not have to focus on this group of elusive dames. The general studies of *moerens* offered in the chapters entitled "Women About Town", "Great Ladies", and "High Fashion", contain some charming bits and pieces of Good Queen Bessie.

Such information as is provided is confessedly not new, but it is sensibly and genially presented. Mr. Brown remarks that "the academic mind is apt to forget the flesh and blood", but if he had consulted Peter Laslett's brilliantly accurate *The World We Have Lost* he would have been saved from repeating the old error that Elizabethan girls "married young or even very young"—and allowing this error to give an unpleasant impression of Anne's age and state of mind at the time of her marriage to Shakespeare.

## Caribbean obsessions

WILLIAMS: *Inward Hunger*, 224pp. André Deutsch, £2 2s.

*Inward Hunger* is the autobiography of a man with an enormous ship on his mind. The son of a minor Office official in Trinidad, Eric Williams won scholarships to local schools and the island scholarship to the University of Cambridge, where he was placed first in emerging from the promise of a brilliant class of the Modern History School. He later took his

degree in philosophy. At the end of a brilliant university career he went to an All Souls Fellowship which he did not get. His failure to achieve this distinction he attributes to the fact that he is a Negro. The opinion that personal rather than racial reasons were responsible throughout his book he gives of his disputes and arguments with others, in which he was serious research, and as a rule through a fluent style has produced a readable account of a perplexing character. He has said the last word? Perhaps not. Indeed, he has not. When Bishop Burnet had the right answer: "How far King Henry VIII was a tyrant, and how far a saint, is a question which has been debated since his death, and will be debated as long as the world shall last."

grounds". In 1955 his contract with the Commission was not renewed. He had become, in his opinion, "the nationalist victim of colonial pressures".

Dr. Williams then turned to politics, where he has been remarkably successful. He founded a new party in Trinidad which won the general election of 1956, and he then became Chief Minister of the colony of Trinidad and Tobago. He led the colony into the Federation of the West Indies, but was unable to persuade the other colonies to agree to a "strong" federation. Largely because of this failure, the Federation collapsed and in 1962 Trinidad and Tobago became an independent nation.

Dr. Williams has travelled widely and is the author of several books and countless articles. His intellectual energy is amazing and there must be few men capable of literary pursuits such as his in addition to the labours of a Prime Minister of a young and developing country. Like all nationalist intellectuals, he is strongly anti-colonial, and the first chapter of his book describes conditions in Trinidad in 1911, the year he was born, in highly uncompromising terms. The island's crown colony constitution, that year "marked the nadir of poli-



















## Augustus M Kelley in Great Britain

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aimed at neo-Marxists like Ernst Bloch on the one hand, conservatives like Karl Löwith on the other. In between, Habermas subjects the Hegelian-Marxist heritage to the kind of analytical treatment which admittedly comes more easily to German writers than to outsiders unfamiliar with the finer shades of this particular topic. Even so, it needed a quite abnormal capacity for joining dialectical logic to historical insight to bring out the crucial link between "critique" and "crisis" in the way Habermas does in what is perhaps the most illuminating treatment the subject has yet received from a philosopher.

No one who has digested the relevant chapter is likely to suppose that the only alternative to the positivist misinterpretation of Marxism—shared by revisionists like Kolakowski, whom Habermas demolishes in a few pages—is the existentialist anthropology of radical theologians enmeshed in the Paris Manuscripts. It took uncommon penetration to rediscover the precise significance which the term "critique" possessed within the objective structure of classical and modern thought for all those philosophers and non-philosophers, from the Greeks onwards, who prepared the way for Hegel and Marx. It also took remarkable detachment to perceive that the "critical theory"—so described in the 1930s by the Frankfurt school when the "crisis" of the European civil war was at its peak—stood and fell with an assessment of the historical situation which is no longer tenable—although paradoxically the Marxist method of social analysis has not been invalidated by the collapse of its unspoken metaphysical assumptions. The reader who has assimilated what Habermas has to say on this tricky subject can save himself the bother of wandering backwards and forwards between Marx's empiricist critics, his existentialist defenders—including Sartre—and the surviving adherents of Soviet orthodoxy. They are all taken care of; that is to say, left at the post.

*Erkenntnis und Interesse* is a different kettle of fish. If that is not an unduly colloquial way of characterizing a rigorously professional analysis of positivism, pragmatism, and their Kantian antecedents. It may be convenient to quote the opening passage of the preface:

I have undertaken the historically oriented attempt to reconstruct the pre-history of modern positivism (guided by a systematic analysis of the connection between cognition and interest). Whoever investigates the progressive dissolution of the theory of knowledge, leaving in its place a abandoned phase of reflection. To retrace one's course along this route, with a perspective turned towards the original starting-point, may be of help in bringing back the forgotten experience of reflection. The denial of reflection is positivism.

The execution of this programme obliges author and reader to traverse the waterless desert of scientism and pragmatism, from its original source in Comte, by way of Ernst Mach and C. S. Peirce, to Popper's logic of science—already the target of Habermas's critique in the 1963 *Adorno Festschrift*. The chapter on Peirce, which does full justice to the founder of pragmatism without inflating his importance in the current transatlantic fashion, constitutes by itself sufficient reason for the book to be translated into English without delay (and introduced into the syllabus of American universities).

The real originality of *Erkenntnis und Interesse* lies elsewhere. Alongside a critical account of the empiricist tradition; or rather intertwined with it, Habermas presents an analysis of the manner in which epistemology in general, and Kantian idealism in particular, dissolved into the ontological standpoint of post-Hegelian historicism (Dilthey)—with Marx's "metacritique of Hegel" inserted along the way as the "not wholly convincing" solution of a problem already posed by Kant and Fichte: that of mediating between the perception of reality by the individual thinking mind, and the inevitable conditioning of that mind by the socio-historical context.

The principle of criticism as "the immanence of cognition and interest" is traced back to its Kantian source; and at the same time projected forward to its embodiment in the scientific work of Freud and the polemical writings of Nietzsche, for whom a crude interest in psychology provided the means of "unmasking" philo-

sophy as the illusory self-gratification of the reflecting subject. The two-fold movement of modern thought thus appears as a dialectical interconnection between rival attempts to transcend the horizon of classical rationalist philosophy. Once the peculiar logic of this process has been grasped, one can see why the critical dissection of Peirce's pragmatism—a brain-cracking affair which could satisfy the most rigorous of contemporary logicians—is immediately followed by a destructive analysis of Dilthey's hermeneutics, in turn succeeded by an illuminating discussion of language and its function within the self-interpretation of *Gesellschaftswissenschaft*.

The fascination of *Erkenntnis und Interesse* lies in the way Habermas brings out the intrinsic logic of this progressive dissolution of the rationalist heritage through the dialectical interplay of standpoints (positivism, pragmatism, historicism) rooted in assumptions originally shared by scientists and historians alike. The conclusion—namely that a radical critique of cognition (*Erkenntnis-theorie*) must take the form of sociology (*Gesellschaftstheorie*)—seems wholly convincing; the more so since Habermas qualifies his acceptance of the Marxist approach by a careful dissection of an unfinished anthropology modelled in the natural sciences. He perceives that the positivist strain in Marx and treats it as the source of later misunderstandings. Marx, he thinks, might have done more to clarify the enduring relevance of philosophy vis-à-vis the sciences.

Philosophy is conserved within science as critique. A theory of science which purports to be the historical self-consciousness of the human species cannot simply negate philosophy. Rather the heritage of philosophy transforms itself into the critique of ideology, which in turn determines the method of scientific analysis.

So much for the structuralists, with their neo-positivist yearning for a science of society emancipated from history and philosophy alike. Now plainly this orientation is itself open to criticism on the grounds that it translates into Marxist terms the familiar themes of German idealism. But then it so happens that Marx came out of this particular tradition. Among the services Habermas renders to the contemporary student of philosophy, not the least is the recovery of a dimension lost or abandoned in the heyday of positivist scientism. What he proposes is not a "return" to an irrecoverable past, but a deeper understanding of what was implied by the idealist approach that antedated the collapse into empirical practicality. He does not ignore the element of truth in the pragmatist enterprise, but stresses the failure of its originators to clarify the theory-practice relationship.

Peirce and Dilthey had encountered the practical foundation (*Interessensubstrat*) of scientific understanding, but they did not reflect it as such. They did not form a notion of interest-orientated cognition that did not really comprehend what such a notion intends.

Habermas's own position is the reverse of a pseudo-materialist reductionism. It amounts to equating the concept of "reason" with a "reason" explicitly described as "liberating" (*heilen, emanzipatorisch, Erkenntnisinteresse*). The root of this conception is traced to Kant, and more particularly to Fichte, who subordinated theoretical to practical cognition, and on this foundation developed the notion of a "liberating, self-activating" interest "inherent in practical reason as such. There is no insuperable gulf separating material interest from rationality; they converge in practical activity that subjects both the self and the world to the freely chosen rule of reason.

This last illumination of a neglected aspect of the idealist heritage is all the more welcome, because German philosophical speculation since Schopenhauer and Nietzsche has systematically obscured the fact that Hegel, for all his political conservatism, embodied one aspect of the Enlightenment tradition. The standard equation of German metaphysics with irrationalism has its roots in an incomprehension of what Hegelianism really signified—and not only for the Left Hegelians. In this respect Habermas is the perfect antidote to Heidegger and his pupils, but he also introduces a corrective to a view-point made respectable by writers

like Löwith who are innocent of Heidegger's extravagances (not to mention his political attitudes after 1933), but share his longing for a return to a pre-Kantian ontology of the Aristotelian type. Such an attitude implies the belief that modernism—in the narrow sense of post-French Revolution development, or in the wider sense of post-medievalism—represents the secularization of a religious heritage (Hellenic or Christian, according to taste).

In *Theorie und Praxis* Habermas devoted a few passing reflections to the transformation of *Gesellschaftstheorie* into *Gesellschaftsphilosophie*, albeit with the accent on the radical innovation introduced by the "global consciousness" of the eighteenth century Enlightenment. For a systematic analysis of European philosophy and its Hellenistic sources one must turn to a very different work: Professor Hans Blumenberg's *Die Legitimität der Neuzeit*. This is one of those great treatises—historical, critical and speculative all at once—which for some reason do not seem to flourish outside Germany. Erudition by itself cannot explain the phenomenon, although Blumenberg's learning is in fact quite staggering, while his range encompasses the entire history of philosophy since the pre-Socratics. Inherent in his attitude is an urge towards systematization which, to put it crudely, is itself metaphysical and thus the antithesis to positivism and historicism alike. Within limits this statement is also applicable to Adorno, Marcuse and Habermas—hence their refusal to accept the fact-value dichotomy as an ultimate datum for the reflecting mind. But it has been left for Blumenberg to write a major treatise on the metaphysical tradition which unites intellectual history with a critical dissection of the concept of "secularization": a concept that has served two generations of writers in their efforts to make sense of the modern predicament. The fact that most of these writers were either theologians, or philosophers sympathetic to a theological perspective, does not, of course, invalidate the usefulness of this approach, but it does suggest that the rest of us have perhaps been a trifle too ready to upenite with a set of notions originally devised to explain what their authors could only see as a falling-away from the true that is to say, the theocentric view of man and the universe.

What Blumenberg has done, to put it briefly, is to describe the disintegration of the medieval world-view as a consequence of latent contradictions already present in the scholastic tradition: ultimately in the synthesis of early Christianity and neo-Platonism.

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## Uneasy alliance

MORAVIA: *Command & I Will Obey You*. Translated by Angus Davidson. 309pp. Salt and Warburg. 30s.

of its size or shape, one could never find one's way around his flots. In his recent novels, which have been preoccupied with form, with ideas, with patterns of behaviour rather than with the facts of what people do, he has admitted this anti-realism of his: a bold thing for a man whose reputation is based on a totally opposite image. "A relentless realist in his unflattering representation of human nature" is a typical dictionary description of him. "But his objectivity is impaired," this particular dictionary quibblingly continues, "by his preoccupation with sex."

Objectivity, impaired or not, is completely out in the stories contained in *Command and I Will Obey You*. And so, pretty much, is that old preoccupation with sex. The stories are concerned, much like Moravia's intricate novel *The Lie*, with a subjective reality that goes far beyond realism. They are all written in the first person; the narrator varies, but is generally poor, lonely, meek, bullied; often he is, in some way, almost entirely without personality or identity. Except when he deals with the bourgeoisie he knows, or once knew—so well, Moravia is unable to conjure up a class, a social atmosphere; in these stories his philosophic tramp, his mild cuckolded husbands, his lodgers, clerks, office boys and poor students, all the

## Tooth and claw

he will be able to redeem himself: on the one hand the horror of a corpse's eye created by a lump of brain in an empty eye socket, and on the other the breathing of a ram on a new-born child.

The "Back to Nature" theme advocated by Giono is not likely to be as telling now as it might have been forty years ago when *The Slaughterhouse* was published. To

## Stumbling

B. TRAVEN: *The Bridge in the Jungle*. 216pp. Corgi. 25s.

Speculation about the identity of the author of *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* and *The Death Ship* is not going to be interrupted by the death of B. Traven in Mexico on March 26 this year. The quest for Traven has been going on for some forty years now. It has been an extra-literary pursuit, and one that has tended to draw attention away from the excellence of the novels. Unfortunately, though, the one biographical problem that is relevant to Traven's novels is still unresolved. In what language did Traven write? If Traven was an American, why were some of his books published in English in translations from the German? Traven's clumsiness with the English language suggests that it was not his native tongue. But is it Teutonic or incompetence that puts the verb so resolutely at the end of this sentence from *The Bridge in the Jungle*: "... I groped my way towards the corner where the bed I had slept in last night and the night before was?"

*The Bridge in the Jungle* certainly has its fair share of incompetence. The dedication has all the big-heartedness of our own Adrian Mitchell: "To the mothers of every nation of every color of every race of every color of every creed of all animals and birds of all creatures alive on earth." The first words of the book are scarcely more promising: "Sick 'n' up, stranger!" "Can't you hear, sap? Up with your fins. And you'd better snap into it!"

This unfortunate B-feature opening has almost nothing to do with the rest of the book, which (like many of Traven's works) is a fable, the moral of which—again typical of Traven—is a denunciation of capitalism and colonialism. In the middle of the jungle is a bridge, built and owned by an oil company. The

bridge has no railing; the oil company considered them an "unnecessary expense". Mannelito has returned from Texas, where he works for the oil company. His younger brother Carlitos is overjoyed to see him, and is especially proud of the shoes Mannelito has brought him from America. They are the first shoes he has ever had, and he is clumsy in them. There is a party, in the course of which Carlitos is unseated by his mother. As she searches for him, her anxiety infects the whole district until the whole population joins in looking for the little boy. In the end he is found drowned in the river. His American shoes have made him lose his footing on the (American) bridge. From here the book describes solemnly, and often impressively, the preparations for the burial, the rapid putrefaction of the corpse, the funeral.

Unfortunately Traven makes his points with relentless heavy-handedness. The implicit criticism of Yankee imperialism is there in the fable: not only the air around me but also the ground seemed to be filled with a never tiring sobbing, whistling, whining, hissing, fizzing, whimpering. A burro brayed plaintively in the prairie. The jungle was singing its eternal song of joy, love, sadness, pain, tragedy, hope, despair, victory, defeat.

There are altogether too many burros in this book, and the jungle is too full of noises. It is a great pity, because if *The Bridge in the Jungle* was stripped to action it would make a powerful short story.

The price of *When Rain Clouds Gather* by Beside Head, which was reviewed on p.575 of our issue of May 22, is 25s.

P. Mackintosh's *The Devolution of Power* which was reviewed on p.547 of our issue of May 22, is also published as a Penguin special at 1s.

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## James and John

CURTIS B. PEPPER: *An Artist and The Pope*. 249pp. Peter Davies. £3 3s.

The reader may have a difficulty with *An Artist and the Pope*. It is written in the popular manner of an *historical romance*, obscuring the ultimate facts of life and death, which are the real theme. Yet the theme penetrates even through this sensationalist medium. The book was put together with industry by Curtis Bill Pepper, who spent long hours with the sculptor, Manzù before a tape recorder. Additional facts were provided by Mgr. Loris Capovilla, once Pope John's private secretary and now an archbishop. But what lies beneath these "imaginary conversations" is the rugged tragic tone of Giovanni Manzù himself, his life struggle to manipulate recalcitrant clay into his own verbally inarticulate "vision of the world", and finally the impact on him of the most unexpected of soul-mates, John XXIII. As we read between the lines (not always easily) we get yet another portrait of John: one more penetrating than that of the cleverest biographers—the man in the eyes of an intuitive artist.

Perhaps we had better start out a few facts. Giovanni Manzù came from a depressed family in Bergamo where his father was a seaman and church hanger-on. His obsession with life and death he could express through women but also through Christ. In the 1930s he had done his famous bas-reliefs such as "Christ with Poverty" and "Christ with Women", or, later, "Christ in our Humanity". And there was the much-contested Christ hanging from the cross by one hand while a fat nude whore (Mary Magdalene or some other woman) is kissing the other hand. Manzù's approach to Christianity has some remote affinity with that of another Italian communist, Pier-Paolo Pasolini, who anatomized the world by his Gospel according to Saint Matthew. Christ was a brother, a sufferer, a partisan struggling for justice and love in a cold and loveless world.

The story of Manzù's relations with the Vatican began when, through the good offices of Don Giuseppe De Luca, a devoted and famous priest who made his mark on Ronnel, he was commissioned to design the Doors of Death, one of the entrances to St. Peter's. There were the struggles usual between employers and working artists, whether the employers be

churchmen or state officials. Manzù began the big work, then desisted, disappointed, because he could not accept Catholic theology about the death of Christ and Mary and was unable to do anything he felt dishonest.

It was at this point that he was invited to make a bust of John XXIII. John took Manzù aback, for he had never thought a Pope could have such sincere and humble ways—or he so tolerant. Two ways of sincerity met in affection, two lonely men with utterly different approaches were wrestling with the human condition. They could talk in Bergamesque dialect (Pope John, it will be remembered, came from near Bergamo) while Manzù struggled to get his impressions of John's moods—thoughtful, laughing, expressing certainty or doubt. John even showed him his bare head-rooms. A meeting-point between art and holiness was reached which could never have been attained through theology or in concept alone. John encouraged Manzù to continue his work on the Doors of Death and inspired him through the agencies of creation.

The Doors of Death were not in place until after John XXIII had died; and, instead of the panel inscribed "Death in Water", Manzù inserted John XXIII in prayer. The figures representing the deaths of Abel, St. Joseph, St. Stephen, St. Gregory, death in space, and death on earth (where the woman is recognizably Manzù's lady) all have their strange weightlessness. So have the deaths of Christ and Mary. There is, of course, a theological ambiguity, for even in Christ and Mary Manzù has rarely portrayed all the sufferings and tortures of mankind in our present stage of evolution. This is not sacred art in Ronsard's sense, but the Doors are a statement of great power and creativeness in which Manzù's belief in man merges with Pope John's belief in the Christ-God. There is no resolving the ambiguities of the great statement in conceptual terms.

We get a perception through this story, which is told like a film on television, that Manzù did not like Paul VI much more than he had liked Pius XII. In his eyes Paul seemed aloof at the inauguration of the Doors, as in earlier years Pius had seemed clerical and triumphalist. No one in Italy has captured the people's imagination and the artist's imagination as John XXIII did, and the Doors almost howl for John XXIII and Don Giuseppe De Luca, the dead patrons.

## The man within

ELSIE ALTMANN LOOS: *Adolf Loos her Mensch*. 191pp. [Vienist: Herold. 124 Sch.

What is one to make of this biography of Loos? It is written by one of his wives. She was only married to him from 1919 to 1925, but she is clearly still in love with him. On the very last page she can still list:

His favourite food: chicken, tender vegetables, ice cream, lobster. His favourite drink: *Trübschokolade*. His favourite colour: white lilac. His favourite book: *Brahm's Veden*.

And so on. Frau Loos also tells us more or less fairly, it seems—at the other wives. To his first wife he stuck for only two years, the last he married in 1927 or 1928. The second, Bessie Brice, has a chapter, a remarkably sympathetic one, all to herself. It was through Bessie and Loos that Kokoschka got the commission to paint Auguste Rodin, the psychiatrist, perhaps the most masterly of all his portraits. That story we are not told, though Frau Loos mentions Kokoschka several times, as Loos was apparently more attached to him than to any other friend, except perhaps Peter Altenberg. Loos's pupils are also mentioned but no attempt is made to characterize them or to characterize such acquaintances as Le Corbusier, Count Camillo Cavour, Kallergo or Alvin Mahler.

Characterizing Loos himself, however, must be regarded as the book's intention: only the character which emerges is, alas, far from attractive. Loos was a tyrant: their married life was entirely dictated by his every whim. "Loos was inexorable in every respect", she writes, obviously with glee. She earned most of the money while they were together, but he decided how to spend it. She was much younger than him, and he treated her like a child, always teaching her something or other. Once, she tells, Loos had agreed with an anxious client to

sign that he, the architect, would be himself financially responsible for some marble facing on which he slipped fell off and did damage. Loos said: "You shouldn't have signed that thing, she adds. No, she attempts to show him how to do it. She is in the book, and often painful process that she and changes a whole society. In Vienna while he decided to be in Paris. But she still paid his bills so it seems.

Adolf Loos der Mensch gives a vivid impression of a restless, totally without a timetable. A few details of his young days in America are new. His hatred of his mother and her hatred of him play a part in the first chapter too. His unhappy meeting with the owner of the *Chicago Tribune* is reported on a embarrassing page, and the end of Dr. Beer and his wife, the chemist whom Loos designed the house for Lake of Geneva.

Of the house itself we hear nothing new. In fact this is a book about an architect and his work. Buildings come in only rarely, and then without relevant comment, as with the design for the *Chicago Tribune*. "An enormous tower, as one might picture the Tower of Babel," Dr. Beer knew that it was a super-duper column? Only of his struggles with the Housing Department in Vienna, which he was head for less than two years do we hear a little more.

But perhaps that is what Frau Loos means, when she says in her preface by saying: "This book is written for simple people, for people like you and me." And even a man of genius is a man. Loos people don't recognize that. He talks from many adventures like ordinary men: love, sickness, cold feet, money trouble and insomnia. Just like other people. Look at him therefore with understanding eye. The envelope of the greatest mind is flesh and blood. And like you and me.

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## On the beginning

CHARLTON WRIGHT (Editor): *On Revolution: The First Five 1900-1913*. 505pp. Yale University Press. £6 15s.

Love like love is a word with a range of meaning as to be useless except in a context. The end of the scale there is the often painful process that changes the faces of a nation and changes a whole society. The overthrow of a dynasty was closer to the Western studies of early Chinese history. The period is a strong impression and the period is that they have to focus on this event of importance instead of on other trends. Even its supposed end, the improbable and perilous Dr. Sun Yat-sen, with his type suits and mustaches, was a key to the period in the way of the Chinese of the four decades.

China in Revolution changes all as a welcome and long overdue. This collection of essays on various aspects of the development of Chinese politics and society in the last century or so of the century is of course uneven, but the selection by Mary Wright, and the other pieces, are worth some thought and discussion. It is a common theme running through the book is the growth of modern nationalism alongside the independence of the provincial allies between gentry and merchants to provide the political base for warlords. Thus the collapse of the imperial state in 1911 can be more realistically seen as a landmark in a bewildering

landscape of change rather than as a huge dominating event. Indeed, the main interest of 1911 and 1912 is in the way social forces to whom the overthrow or continuation of Manchu imperial rule was of secondary interest took advantage of chaos to further their own interests.

As the essays dealing with provincialism show, it was not Sun Yat-sen's muddled ideas, and bungled planning that toppled the Ch'ing dynasty but the assertion by the gentry of control of their own provinces. After 1900 and the breakdown of the last effective pretensions of the court to represent gentry interests on a national basis when dealing with foreigners, strong central government became less useful, and the pressure for provincial autonomy to some extent or other grew rapidly. The constitutional movement of the last years of the Ch'ing was essentially a declaration by the landed classes and their merchant friends that they now preferred to look after their own interests directly. It was these classes, not the revolutionary conspirators, who won out in the power struggles before and after 1911.

It is perhaps a sign of the immaturity of the study of Chinese history in the West at least, that such questions as the role of the gentry and bourgeoisie in the twentieth century should only now be coming into the area of serious academic controversy. In this volume, for example, Professor Wright and others present the gentry as a modernizing and patriotic force because they "read newspapers and wrote letters to the editor", produced radical students and officers in the new armies, and invested in bourgeois-style enterprises. Ichikawa hiro is rather more plausible in his admirably concise presentation of the case that the gentry succeeded in turning the crisis of 1911 into something like the traditional fall of a decadent dynasty, with conservative landed power taking control locally.

Yet Ichikawa, too, sees the gentry as the agents of modernization of a sort. It has long been the contention of most communist historians that 1911 was a bourgeois revolution that failed because of the weakness of the Chinese bourgeoisie. Mme. Bergère illuminates the formation and role of a westernized entrepreneurial class around the turn of the century and in the events of 1911-13, questioning the usefulness of the conventional distinction between "compradore" and "national" bourgeoisie. Her essay may not be the last word on the subject, but it gives an excellent basis for further discussion.

Another useful approach to the period is through looking at developments in various provinces. The memoir of Wu Yi-chang translated some years ago gave a good impression of the style and atmosphere of Szechuan politics at the time that can be usefully compared with Dr. Mary Rankin's illuminating study of the relations between traditional and modern rebels in Chekiang.

Other contributors deal with the creation of the new armies, the confused events at Wihuan of October, 1911, the popularity of anarchism among Chinese students in Japan, and the contrasting careers of Yuan Shih-kai and Sun Yat-sen. In his piece on the latter Harold Schiffrin achieves the rare distinction of making some sense of that puzzling figure, Professor Wright's isolation of nationalism as a main characteristic of the period may be carried too far, but it will certainly make it impossible to neglect it any longer.

This collection of essays includes enough stimulating ideas and good scholarship to deserve to be called outstanding, despite its unevenness. Its main shortcoming is the absence of a study of the agrarian problem of that time as basic to this as in any other period of Chinese history; but such a complaint could reasonably be regarded as greedy.

## From both shores

L.S. DRAKE and E. H. KOSSMANN (Editors): *Britain and the Netherlands in Europe and Asia*. 264pp. Macmillan. £3 3s.

There is a tendency nowadays for the organizers of international historical conferences—functionaries who seem to be proliferating like mushrooms—to rush into print with a volume for volume of the papers presented, whose quality does not always justify a wider circulation. This approach cannot fairly be held against the publishers of the proceedings of the periodic Anglo-Dutch Historical Conferences, which have been held at discrete intervals on either side of the North Sea since the inaugural one at Oxford in 1959. Unlike some of the unwieldy jamborees with hundreds or even thousands of participants, these modest Anglo-Dutch conferences have been deliberately kept small, with only ten or twelve formal papers, and the participants not more than thirty a side.

Dutch expertise in foreign languages and not least in English, has enabled the proceedings to be conducted entirely in this language without any strain; and the care taken in their preparation has ensured conclusions of high quality. In this reviewer's opinion the present volume is the best of the series, since the third conference held at London in 1967 had two specific themes—which give a greater unity than was achieved by the two previous volumes. The first theme was that of the changing attitudes in Britain and the Netherlands to the respective situation of the two countries in the highly unstable power complex which remains a prominent feature of modern European history. The other a comparative study of aspects of Dutch and British colonial history in Asia, and of their respective retreats from empire.

In a stimulating opening paper on the Netherlands and Europe in the nineteenth and eighteenth centuries, Professor J. W. Smit put his finger on the deeply felt and disquieting

telligent Netherlands for most of that period: the ambiguity of the Dutch position as a first-rate commercial power without a corresponding territorial and demographical basis. "It was the problem of a nation seeking its security in peace, in a world which granted no profit without power, no safety without war." In this connection, it is interesting to note how closely Renoult's arguments for Dutch neutrality and a republican form of government in 1792 coincide with those advanced by Pieter de la Court in 1662, despite all that had happened in the interval. Professor J. R. Jones's lively paper on "English Attitudes to Europe in the Seventeenth Century" is especially useful for its trenchant demonstration of parliamentary ignorance and irresponsibility in foreign affairs. "Members not only wanted, they actually thought they could have, an effective foreign policy on the cheap." The author might, perhaps, have added that this conviction was not confined to the seventeenth century; and he surely goes too far when he claims:

European affairs were a matter for a tiny minority. Taking active interest in foreign diplomats and educated and well-informed merchants, the number could have been much more than a hundred.

On the contrary, judging from the relatively wide circulation of such popular pamphlets as *England's Appeal from the Cabinet at Whitehall* (1673), and the successive editions of Sir William Temple's *Observations on the United Provinces* between 1673 and 1676, there must have been at least ten times that number. The regular subscribers to the *London Gazette*, who certainly numbered more than a hundred, must also have had some knowledge of foreign affairs since the bulk of this paper was devoted to foreign news.

Dr. Meinhart-Roelofs and Dr. D. Bassett are both equally illuminating and fair-minded in their respective and perceptive discussions of Dutch and English colonial developments in seventeenth-century Asia. The former shows, among other things,

played by the Dutch East-India Company in its prime was some 17,000 or 18,000, and not 30,000, which is the figure given by all contemporaries, including Sir William Temple. Dr. Bassett rightly emphasizes that the English East-India Company's trade with Indonesia after the so-called "massacre of Amboina" in 1623, was much larger and lasted for much longer than is generally recognized. The Indian and the Indonesian markets were complementary and not mutually exclusive. Mrs. Alice Carter, in her interesting discussion of Britain as a European power between 1688 and 1793, acutely analyses the various factors which eroded the Anglo-Dutch alliance, "turning it from what was once admittedly a mere mortgage of dominance into one on the road to divorce".

Professor J. C. Boogman contributes a masterly survey of "The Netherlands in the European scene, 1813-1913", showing how and why the apathy, inebriation, and obsession with the past which characterized the Dutch upper classes between 1813 and 1848 was gradually succeeded by a more dynamic outlook in the second half of the century, culminating in an atmosphere of optimism and national self-confidence, not to say complacency, by 1914. Dr. J. S. Baslin in his consideration of "Britain as an imperial power in S.E. Asia in the 19th century" reminds us that theories of imperialism tend to obscure the influence of local factors and the activities, often the unauthorized activities, of individuals in frontier situations on the effective process of territorial expansion.

Raffles, James, and Charles Brooke, and Sir Andrew Clarke are cited as exemplars. The two concluding chapters on the respective Dutch and British retreats from empire deal with events which are too recent to allow of a definitive summing-up, as both authors explicitly recognize. But Professor Henri Baudet's paper, so far as it deals with British attitudes towards the Dutch over Indonesia in 1945-46, makes uncomfortable reading for those of us who were in East Asia in 1940-41, and who remember how clumsily they stood by as their

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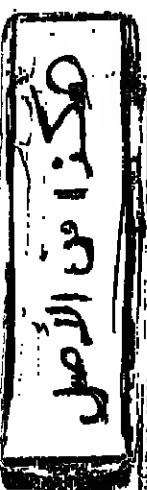
"The artist is, in effect, a prophet and one who reveals much about us all," Mr. Weller writes. And it is in this spirit that he deals in turn with the artists' preoccupation with the machine and its relation to man; with images of violence, and the emphasis artists place on such subjects as death, decay and disintegration; with the way many artists tend to suggest a human presence by incorporating human tracks or human detritus and articles of clothing in their canvases and with the frequent use of masks; with images signifying loneliness and loss of identity; with the obsessive interest of many artists in "what happens inside, beneath the surface" rather than in "what reveals itself."

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# And yet it does not move

GILBERT GUSTAFSON: *La Révolution galiléenne*. Vol. 1, 404pp. Vol. 2, 486pp. Paris: Payot, 37.10fr. each.

The thesis of *La Révolution galiléenne* is that if the modern approach to the universe can be said to be the work of any single person, that person is Galileo. He made his precursor's attitude of mind explicit, and he set the mental framework within which his successors have worked down to the present day. Professor Gustafson's book gives an account of Galileo's career, accompanied by a massive survey of the intellectual history of the western world in Galileo's lifetime and during the next generation. Thus the book has two subjects, and perhaps it falls between two stools. A reader who wants a handbook may be put off by the thesis, while a reader who is interested primarily in the thesis may find the handbook superfluous. Nor is the book easy to read; it lacks the lucidity and underliness of which French scholars are, as a rule, past-masters.

Fortunately the subject comes to the author's rescue. It is of such perennial interest that any serious treatment of it is welcome—and Professor Gustafson's work is serious almost to the point of prosiness. "Galileo's revolution" is topical today because it has become evident that this revolutionary change of mental outlook in western Christendom, three or four centuries ago, is one of the major causes of the crisis in which the modern world finds itself.

The story is an ironical one. The revolution of which Galileo was indisputably one of the principal authors has by now phoned in mankind's hands a previously undreamed of plenitude of material power, but our enhanced material power has become a menace to us, because this mental revolution has done nothing at all to increase our spiritual capacity for handling material power; so far from that, it has had a spiritually unsetting effect that has been progressive. The story also illustrates the ironical saying that, *plus ça change, plus ça change*.

At first sight it looks as if no break with the past could have been more

radical. Galileo's revolution "denaturalized" man's mental picture of the universe. Yet the post-Galilean Weltanschauung is a reproduction of the pre-Galilean one on the essential point. Each of these views of the universe is founded on an unverifiable act of faith. Pre-Galilean man's faith in the presence, behind the phenomena, of an invisible God; post-Galilean man has transferred his faith to a belief in the presence, behind the same phenomena, of a mathematical structure of reality. The pivot point of similarity between the two outlooks is that both impugn the reality of the tangible, visible, audible world that is registered by our human senses. Both maintain that the reality bears no resemblance to the appearances.

Both outlooks have been justified only by results. The mythical picture of the universe enabled man to behave as a social animal for many centuries—perhaps ever since the time when our ancestors became human. When the traditional mythology lost its social justification, it forfeited its authority. In the western Christendom of the late sixteenth century and the seventeenth century, Christianity was discredited by the wars of religion and by the accompanying hatreds and atrocities. Even so, the new outlook had a hard struggle to vindicate itself. The trial and condemnation of Galileo is one of the testimonies to the stubbornness of the old outlook's rearguard action and to the slowness of its sullen retreat. The traditional religious "establishment" might conceivably have held its ground if it had not disgraced itself by its misdeeds. The corresponding misdeeds of the new scientific dispensation have been committed within our lifetime: two world wars, accompanied by genocide and exterminating in the dropping of the two atom bombs. The modern science now going to be discredited in its turn? This too is conceivable; for science's credentials are, not that science is self-evident, but that science works, as mythology worked in its pre-scientific day, for the benefit of mankind. If mankind were to come to the conclusion that science is working for mankind's destruction, would science be able to maintain the quasi-religious ascendancy over human mind and hearts that it has enjoyed since the Galilean revolution came into its own?

Yet science does work. We now have atomic fission and fusion; and we have a host of other achievements of science, bad and good. But education is no guarantee of truth. All that we know is that the mathematical picture of the universe has produced stupendous practical results. As for the mathematical picture's correspondence or non-correspondence with reality, we can see that this picture has been made to stand for reality by a procrustean procedure. The title to simulating as being real has been withdrawn by science from all phenomena that cannot be forced into a mathematical straitjacket—cannot, that is to say, be processed into still that can be counted, measured, and weighed. This process rules out most of the data of human experience. Science has won its progressive triumphs in a progressively swindling realm.

In our time, science's procedure has been doubly challenged. The scientists themselves have discovered that the human scientific observer is part of the phenomena that he is observing; and people in general have discovered that, contrary to what has been the ruling dogma since Galileo's day, science and technology are of only secondary importance for mankind. Man has demonstrated this by managing to survive on a minimum of technology, his lower palaeolithic outfit, for the first million years of his history. What is all-important for man is nature; for man is either a social creature or a nonentity. Indeed, if with science's edged tools now in his hands, he continues to fail to behave socially, he will be condemning himself to self-liquidation.

Professor Gustafson's book is a quarry from which the reader can extract seventeenth-century information about this twentieth-century question; but the reader will have to dig for his ore.

# Rags and bones

KARL E. ROTHSCHUH: *Physiologie der Wandlung ihrer Konzepte, Probleme, und Methode vom 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert*. 407pp. Freiburg: Karl Alber, DM 58.

"Physiology", wrote Schopenhauer in 1852, now quoted on the title-page of Professor Rothschuh's *Physiologie*, "is the summit of Natural Science and its most obscure part." François Magendie, his contemporary and a great French physiologist, refused to go to either extreme of this univalent view. "I see myself as a rag and bone man", he wrote. "I look in hand and basket over my shoulder, I scour the field of science to gather what I can." By and large, the history of physiology is its best with Magendie's antithetical remarks, although in the two preceding centuries there had been plenty of the absurdity of which Schopenhauer spoke. Professor Rothschuh eliminates or illuminates, as best he can by writing his book around carefully selected quotations, each of a page or so in length.

From the neo-Galenic, Aristotelian, and Platonic sources of physiology in the fifteenth century and before, from its associations with alchemy and magic in the next, to anatomy, later-physics and later-chemistry in the seventeenth, we can easily see in reading *Physiologie* how difficult must have been the task of separating the rags from the bones. Even in the eighteenth century, when the mechanists might have been thought enlightened enough not to see the opposite point of view, we find that men like Hales, Hoffmann, and Buerhaave tended to have ideas not wholly repugnant to the vitalists. It is for this sort of reason that one or two long quotations can never really do justice to any given author. By such means admittedly, the historian in a hurry is provided with the inimitable flavour of original work; but since the original was not written by a historian, the result is a history only to the extent that the linking passages are history.

In fact, although they say so, the scholars in character, most of whom are Rothschuh's own contemporaries, make us wish that he had written a book less like a card-index. It is then have found space to mention, for instance, Legall, d'Arcy, Bér, Nobili, Vella, Tarshans, and Sharpey, and Sir Charles Snow, whose law relating to the nerve roots, incidentally, appears not to have been mentioned. Rothschuh has failed to strike a reasonable balance between the sort of various schools, and if anything, has played down the great contributions to physiological chemistry made by his countrymen Liebig and Mayer. (Moritz Schiff's study of thyroid function might also be added to the list of subjects which, without mention.) It is simply 400 pages are not enough to do the ground the author has set himself to cover, on a "sourcebook" principle. Probably the most notable omissions concern the evolution of ancillary techniques. There are many who will look in vain for an assessment of the slow but steady improvement in the resolving power of microscopes, and for so partial and incomplete a performance of the history of physiology, it is almost a pity to attempt to do it.

*Physiologie* is nevertheless a useful book. Despite a number of trivial errors, its bibliography is thorough, and in the end the reader will probably look upon it as a guide to the tangled web of physiological literature during the last four hundred years. (The 16th century, in the title on the jacket is a mistake.) It is not if not organized, and although it is differently illustrated, there are historical tables and diagrams which assist those who are strangers to the subject. It is a pity that the book is not more fully illustrated, and although it is not organized, and although it is differently illustrated, there are historical tables and diagrams which assist those who are strangers to the subject. It is a pity that the book is not more fully illustrated, and although it is not organized, and although it is differently illustrated, there are historical tables and diagrams which assist those who are strangers to the subject.

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# Robert and Elizabeth

EDITH BARRITT (Editor): *The Love Letters of Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett*. 230pp. Heinemann, £2.2s.

My verses with all my heart, I give you, I do, as I say, my books with all my heart—these are the words which Robert Browning wrote to Elizabeth Barrett. The resonance of the opening of the book of Browning's letters to Elizabeth is far less known and less accessible; and this is a pity, for the letters form a perfect sequence, each responding to the other, and to the love to love. The correspondence appeared first in 1899 in the *Edinburgh Review*, edited by Henry James. Elizabeth's earlier letters come out in fragments; so does the boorish intransigence of the "fryar" Barrett, and the nervous concern of the two lovers lest one should seem to bind the other to a fateful compact without a chance to withdraw gracefully. This could lead on occasion to semi-Jamesian misunderstandings that were to be rectified only by whispered clarifications, ending in the "I am your very own" recurrent note. For a long time both are still unable to credit the continuing wonder of the other's affection. This wonder is like the watering of a plant, that keeps it fresh and scented.

After that first letter of January, 1845, R.B. and E.B.B. corresponded for four months before meeting; not an excessive period as an example of pen-friendships, which may last many years or even a lifetime. But four months is long enough if the risk of split personalities is not to strengthen. This is a real danger, as all who have experienced a paper friendship know. Normal acquaintance was from outside inward; the first visual impression, the voice, the surface talk and manner, and in time the gradual penetration to the mind or spirit, if friendship grows. In the written exchange the process is reversed; minds and spirits are explored, often more deeply and

with less of inhibition, but the surface personality is an imagined image that impresses itself vividly on the respondent's inner eye and links itself firmly with the ideas and sentiments of the letters. Then if the meeting comes, two strangers suddenly face each other. A cherished phantom is displaced, and the live presence will not easily associate itself, by as one may, with the well-known, even well-loved mind that wrote the letters. It can happen that the whole myth falls apart and the two, having touched with icy physical fingers, shift away on their separate errands.

Browning and Miss Barrett seem, as one reads the letters, to have sustained the switch and barely felt the jolt of it. They write as before, except that there are meetings to refer to. But it has not been so smooth and simple after all. Just one year after R.B.'s first letter Elizabeth confesses: "You never guessed perhaps, what I look back to at this moment in the psychology of our intercourse, the curious double feeling I had about you—you personally, and you as the writer of these letters, and the crisis of the feeling, when I was positively vexed and jealous of myself for not succeeding better in making a unity of the two. I could not! And moreover I could not help but that the writer of the letters seemed nearer to me long ago, and in the spirit of the position, than did the personal visitor who commanded me. She felt convinced that he (the visitor) would discover his illusion, whereas the letters belonged to her own ideal life. The following month they seem to have discussed something of the situation, for she refers to 'what you admitted yesterday... yes, I saw that very early... that you had come here with the intention of trying to love whomever you should find.' The fear was over 'now... when I see and believe your attachment for me.' And the letter ends: 'Your love has been to me like God's own love which makes the receivers of it kneelers.'

As the months went on through the spring of 1846, another and less intimate strain beset Elizabeth (who had, as she wrote, been once reminded by Robert, to bear the burden). It became increasingly hard to keep the secret. Dear kind John Kenyon, a friend of both, would have sought a rat more strongly but for some natural obtuseness. Mrs. Anna Jameson began begging Ba to go to Italy with her, and it felt like guilt or guilt on her part to be evasive to that generous woman. Her sisters Henrietta and Arabella, who had to be told, were less than tactful, and a meddlesome aunt became an active menace.

Even so, the event hung fire and remained alarmingly fluid until the final day. Robert was anything but a practical man (he had refused to set foot inside a kitchen since someone showed him how to cook a dish). On this occasion he seems to have lost his head over routes and time-tables. Were they leaving from Brighton or Southampton, for Dieppe or Havre? The days of the boat seemed changed... provoking 'I' in the flurry. I have copied down the departures from Havre instead of Southampton. Then it seemed he had been right after all about the days of sailing. Elizabeth by some occult sense saw further: "Surely you say wrong in the hour for tomorrow." Yes indeed: "I took for them it will be a convenience to have this discerning selection between one pair of (albeit paper) covers, and for others than specialists it offers an illuminating survey of recent and current views. The essays deal not only with Housman the poet but also with Housman the writer on poetry and among others, Edmund Wilson, John Wain, Cyril Connolly, W. H. Auden, F. W. Bateson, J. P. Sullivan, John Sparrow and Professor Ricks himself; and there are poems by Ezra Pound, Kingsley Amis, and W. H. Auden, the last of which requires the backward transfer of the comma in line three.

The first R

CARLO M. CIPOLLA: *Literary and Development in the West*. 143pp. Penguin, 4s.

Literacy is taken very much for granted in the West, and questions concerning its origins and development are rarely asked. Many histories of education avoid any mention of why reading has been regarded as important, and how it has been regarded through the ages; still less have such books been concerned with how people have learnt to read, or what effect, in psychic or perceptual terms, reading has had upon individual men and women or society at large.

Professor Cipolla's book is concerned primarily with how literacy has come about, and very much less with its effects. He provides a number of interesting concepts and a good deal of data, most of which is presented in thirty tables. The definition of literacy is far from easy. Reading? Writing? Both? Criteria by which ability is judged? These are complex issues, and the author comes to terms with them in the opening pages.

Speculation about the possible inadequacies of any definition of literacy in a historical perspective could go on for ever. For practical purposes and for the practical purposes of this book, the term "literate" is used in the humblest sense of merely connoting a person unable to read a text whether written or printed.

A literate person, then, within the definition of this book, is one who can read a written or printed text. Excellent as far as it goes; and this provides the starting point of a work that is both succinct and supported by a wealth of references in several European languages.

There are, however, two points at which it is necessary to take issue with Professor Cipolla. The more important one is the fact that for much of his argument he relies upon the highly dubious evidence for proficiency in reading offered by the ability to sign one's name. The second is his uncritical acceptance of Lawrence Stone's theory that there was a

decline in literacy in England for the hundred years or so following the middle of the seventeenth century.

Ability to sign one's name—to what extent does this provide evidence that the signatory can read, at even the lowest level? This question is not asked by Professor Cipolla, who assumes that the extent of literacy can be assessed by the counting of signatures. This procedure, in spite of the claims made for it in this country, is open to grave criticism, since it is based upon the concept of an intimate connexion between reading and writing which advocates of popular education in eighteenth-century England did not take for granted. By relying upon this method of investigating literacy, and ignoring other avenues of approach, this book—for all its clarity—is less convincing than it might have been.

Regarding Professor Stone's argument about the decline in literacy there is much that might be said. He has by no means proved his case, though he states it cogently; and it is disquieting to find Professor Cipolla relying uncritically upon findings which have not been established beyond doubt.

Within the present climate of historical research, evidence which can be readily quantified and presented in the form of statistical tables has become extremely popular. Professor Cipolla is clearly drawn to this method, and exploits it with considerable skill. It is this fact which makes his book essentially disappointing, notwithstanding its "pioneer" quality; and in moving to a new frontier of knowledge one is oppressed with a sense of déjà vu about the impact of the printed word upon the mind and spirit of Western man. Clearly statistics have an important role to play, but as Professor Gombrich has recently pointed out, "it will be a sad day when we learn the techniques we have learned to dictate the questions." One is asked in our universities that the historical study of literacy has almost come to this.

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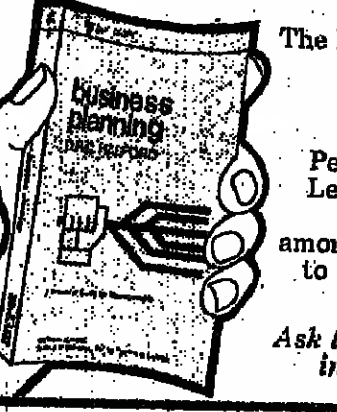
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# Engineer on engineers

WILLIAM BARCLAY PARSONS: *Engineers and Engineering in the Renaissance*. 661pp. The M.I.T. Press, £5 17s.

General William Barclay Parsons, in common with many writers on engineering history and as his title confirms, was not, either by training or profession, a historian. Born in 1859 and educated in Europe and the United States, Parsons was an extremely successful and eminent civil engineer who was much involved with the construction of transportation systems, especially railroads, both in North America and elsewhere. He pioneered the building of New York's first subway (the engineering achievement for which he is best known), was a member of the Isthmian Canal Commission, reported on traffic problems in numerous cities (including London), and at various times was engaged on tunnelling projects. It was as a result of his military engineering activities in the First World War that Parsons was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general.

Quite when Parsons's passion for the history of engineering began to develop is not clear. His interest in the Maya ruins of Yucatan dates from the early 1900s, and in 1922 he published a book on *Robert Fulton and the Submarine*. But it was the Renaissance period which stimulated Parsons's most important historical work. In *Engineers and Engineering in the Renaissance* his considerable knowledge of engineering and his interest in history combined to produce a brilliant work.

Parsons's research into Renaissance engineering lasted many years, and was based on a careful study of all the printed material which was then available, together with many manuscripts. Apparently much of the manuscript material was examined by Parsons for the first time in many cases he seems to be the only person to have done so even today. The book is in many ways what one would expect from a man

trained as an engineer. Plans and projects are carefully analysed and described, from an engineer's point of view, from their inception to completion, or, in several cases, abandonment.

Indeed one of the most valuable aspects of the book is Parsons's attention to schemes that were never finished, or were finished at a much later date, an approach which helps to illustrate just what engineers were up against at the time and the reasons why they were often unable to proceed. For the historian of engineering this is often more informative than a study of "successes".

Parsons was one of the first writers to emphasize that Leonardo da Vinci was more of an engineer than an artist, sculptor or anatomist. And yet he overestimates Leonardo's importance. For all his inventive genius, Leonardo did little practical engineering and exerted a minor influence on later developments.

*Engineers and Engineering in the Renaissance* is not a book in which the wider issues of Renaissance history are discussed; any assessment of the position of engineering in relation to economic and social history must be sought elsewhere. At the same time, though, Parsons was more than a chronicler of technical events and never fails to set Renaissance engineering projects against the full background of the people involved and the problems they were trying to solve. As often as not his sources were contemporary ones and one gains thereby a fascinating insight into engineering at it really was and not as it is too often the case, what hindsight suggests it might have been, or, worse still, what it should have been. Part Five of the book, on hydraulic engineering in Italy, and respect, is especially good in this regard, and the reader could almost be reading a "Renaissance engineering journal" to immediate accounts of Milan's canal system, the flooding and drainage problems

of the Arno, and the creation of France's inland waterways culminated in the magnificent Canal de Languedoc.

In recent years interest in Renaissance engineering has experienced a revival. The discovery in Madrid of the manuscript of Juan de Turriano and two new Leonardo da Vinci manuscripts have been key events in this, while Bertrand Gillette's book, *The Renaissance Engineers*, has approached the subject in a fresh and original way. These and other studies are giving new information about the subject and in places Parsons's views are in conflict with modern ones. And yet nothing has come along to replace his book in any way; it still stands as the work of an advance engineer and an engineer-historian. Nowhere else can the student of the Renaissance period find such a readable and complete account based on such a wealth of original research. Anyone trying to improve on it is faced with a formidable task, and in any case would have to make Parsons the starting point.

Paradoxically not many copies of the original edition were printed in 1939, seven years after the author's untimely death. Consequently, although the book's importance has become well known to engineering historians, copies were not all that easy to access. The M.I.T. Press is to be congratulated for remedying this situation. Their version is not so lavishly illustrated as the original nor so large. But it is complete, with the illustrations, bibliography, appendixes, index, and even the original pagination is retained to facilitate checking of references made by authors who used the 1939 version. It is to be hoped that this new edition will go a long way to making Parsons's work as widely read and as it deserves to be.

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## Might is Right

There have been one or two rather sad straw men of late to show which way the cultural-political wind is blowing in Eastern Europe. Judged in the communist context it appears to be very much a conservative wind, a wind of non-change. The first notable event was last week, when it was reported that the Soviet Writers' Union had asked Aleksandr Tvardovsky to resign from the editorship of *Novyi Mir*. Mr. Tvardovsky has edited this excellent Russian literary monthly since 1958, and during that period has published many items of the first importance, including work by Pasternak, Voznesensky, Yevushenko, Solzhenitsyn and Nekrasov; several of its issues have been reviewed or discussed in our columns. Last year it went through a relatively dull phase, but recently it has included a novella by Aksyonov, a story by Fazil Iskander and, in the latest issue, a dignified selection of poems by Yevushenko.

At the same time Yevushenko himself—one of the few prominent Soviet writers to have been obliquely critical of the invasion of Czechoslovakia—has been removed from the editorial board of the magazine *Yuznet*, along with Aleksandrov and the playwright Viktor Rozov. Both measures coincide depressingly with a strong attack on the more independent-minded intellectuals in last Thursday's issue of the party paper *Sovetskaya Rossiya*. The author of this resounding piece was Kharif Sabirov, a lecturer from Kazan whose name has not, so far as we know, reached the West in any less ephemerical connection. Mr. Sabirov's argument appears to be that intel-



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lectuals should not be led away by their concern with Stalinism and its after-effects as to criticize the party, or to "take neutral, non-class positions" (i.e., presumably, think for themselves or to become distracted from the main task of building communism). He also objected to the publication abroad of smuggled manuscripts, though without mentioning Solzhenitsyn's or other relevant names.

This warning has to be seen first of all in the context of the latest reports about the Soviet civil rights agitators, who recently wrote to the United Nations about the inhumanity of new repressive measures, and also of the harsh treatment being inflicted on Mrs. Daniel and other exiled critics of the regime. It is surely the resultant doubts about communism's essential "humanity" or about its faithfulness to the heritage discussed in our front-page article that has led convinced communists in many countries to see the construction of Soviet communism as less all-absorbing and all-justifying than it used to

be. At the same time Mr. Sabirov himself made clear that the Czech liberalization of last year was relevant to his warnings. What must not be allowed, in his view, is the kind of initiative that was taken by the Czechoslovak writers and intellectuals, who at that time put themselves at the head of the reform movement in their country.

Up to now there has not been much sign of any corresponding reaction in Czechoslovakia itself. One or two writers, like Vachek Havel, have joined microphones in their homes, but nobody has actually been penalized, and the 2,000 Words Manifesto has not been treated as anything but a communist document. Now it looks as if things may be changing. The head of the party's Control Commission (which is virtually the horse's mouth) has spoken of the manifesto as "counter-revolutionary", and to judge from reports of the Central Committee meeting last weekend to have signed it is now seen as a positive offence, even if, as in the case of the Rector of Prague University, one that can

be met not only by a warning but by a fine. For the moment, intellectuals have been let off a warning by Dr. Husak that they must not abuse their position by using it to lend authority to differences with the leadership. There is said to be pressure to add to the *Oxford History of Literature* a volume which will be devoted to the party's weekly *Litvy* has been stopped, and the party's executive committee will be meeting next Monday to review past activities, and without them the Russian writers have got away with the message much more easily than they did. But they did get away with it, and it is this that determines the consequences in both countries. In some measure right through the communist block. The intellectual is a nauseating word, but unfortunately no other campaign for liberalization and civil rights in Czechoslovakia they had the taste to win. The Soviet leadership and the East Germans saw a political danger in this, and made only the passive opposition of the Czechs held them up, together with the strongly expressed disapproval of the Italian and other foreign Communist Parties. Time has done a deal to undermine the one, at least, at a point where the leading theorists publicly withdrew. Today's meeting of the Communist Party in Moscow may show how far it has come. The invaders led the party have been proved right, and the means that their case against liberal intellectuals has been good. In their whole zone of influence the arts and politics have been interlocked closely (they meet in the concept of "ideology"), and the result of last year. What we are seeing now may only be the first of something that will have created and critical freedom in Eastern Europe for many months.

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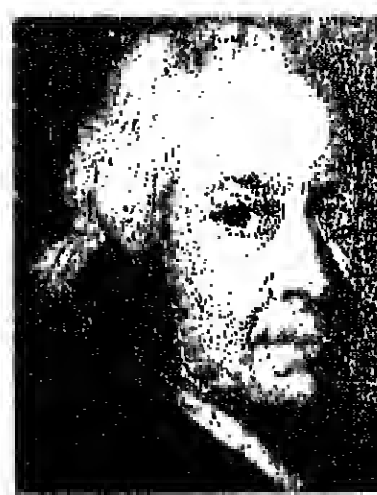


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## Portrait of an age: 1660-1700



Dryden



Bunyan

JAMES SUTHERLAND: *English Literature of the Late Seventeenth Century*, 580pp. London: Penguin University Press. £2.15s.

tion, and accordingly he devotes by far his largest section to it. More than a third of his actual text. He has conscientiously taken over the "seamless Ordinances of the Stage", not looking his nose but keeping his head as the measures not only the well-known specimens but also the productions of the usually unread dramatists such as Shadwell, Crowne, Ravenscroft, Aphra Behn, Tom D'Urfey, Lee, &c. In his final summing-up on Restoration comedy Professor Sutherland's judgements emerge very clearly. He rejects both the "amoral acceptance of Lamb" and the "erroneous moral test of Jeremy Collier and Lord Macaulay"; the might have added, of Steele also: "these men write as if there was not one Man of Honour or Woman of Chastity in the House, and come off with Applause". He mentions, without committing himself, the admirable judgment of Professor L. C. Knights, that the true objection to Restoration comedy is not that it is immoral but that it is confined to a "miserably limited set of attitudes". He thinks that more recent attempts to rehabilitate this drama as a serious criticism of life have "overshot the mark". And he concludes, surely rightly, that Dryden, Elphinstone and the rest simply provided what their audience wanted, namely a "comic catharsis", "an element of wish-fulfillment, and that sort of gratification which comes from being faintly but pleasantly shocked".

On the heroic play Professor Sutherland is equally sound, tracing its extravagance and bombast to the feeling expressed by Dryden, that in this kind of drama the more theatrical the theatre becomes, "the more completely it is fulfilling its function". He explains the cognate dramatic play as providing "a dramatic affirmation of the 'gentle' and especially of the king and court. It is an asking further why those gentle found entertainment in all this bluster and hyperbole, all the self-criticism, between Love and Honour, the answer cannot be 'literary history', but only good-will. One might say, I suppose, that the heroic plays were like

the Victorians, both symbolizing for their devotees an order which they pretended was still alive, though it was in fact an anachronism. Professor Sutherland's detachment is well shown in his comment on Almonzor: that hero, he says, "uses his brain a good deal less than, say, the Lone Ranger of the western film, and so far as we take any interest in him at all it is the sort of interest we have in a dangerous animal, or, at the most, in a noble savage".

Of the minor tragic drama of the period Professor Sutherland says that it is one of those remarks which continually endear him to us, and encourage us to take him as our Great-Heart through the Valley of Humiliation that it is "a burlesque from which the few travellers who venture at all usually return as quickly as possible". In an age, says Professor Sutherland, "in which poetry had come more and more to deal with public concerns, it had become less easy to express the inner and private life of the spirit". Milton, Traherne and the later Vaughan were in this age not out of it, and they are treated in another volume of the *O.H.L.E.* And so, in the short section on poetry, we are shown how Dryden "transcended his poetical contemporaries in almost every kind that he attempted". It is certain that neither Professor Sutherland nor anyone else would nowadays subscribe to Arnold's view that the poetry of Dryden was conceived and composed in the wit, whereas "genuine" poetry is composed in "the soul"; and that Dryden and his school never show us objects "in their truth and beauty". Nevertheless he does admit that it is not always easy for instance in the *Hebridean Stanzas* to be sure when Dryden is "giving us his own thoughts" and when he is merely giving us "thoughts" that might be thought about Cromwell. In *Abraham and Achitophel*

We have the necessary conditions for great satire: the writer really cares about the cause he is asserting, but is not so personally involved in the events as to have lost control of his temper. Yet Professor Sutherland can speak

political ice", and referring to his prologue to *Prince George* of his setting the tone "with that sort of confident exaggeration which the public theatre and a grand occasion can so easily support".

The present reviewer thinks of Dryden not as a satirist, but as a skilled musician sitting at a fine harpsichord, playing "appropriate" music and pulling out the right stop, "as the judgment represents it, proper to the occasion". He has an unerring flair for the sort of music each occasion demands, whether it be the death of Cromwell or the return of Charles II, the defence of the Church of England or the defence of the Roman Catholic church. In mourning for Mistress Anne Killigrew he can condemn the age which has "made prostitute and purgative the Muse"—and then, in work written afterwards, proceed to add further "fat Pollutions" of his own. Everyone knows, of course, how ambiguous and misleading a criterion "sincerity" can be: what does it mean, anyway? But if one prefers poets who say only what they want to say, and are impelled to say by something deeper than merely "the occasion", one will probably not keep a Dryden on the bedside table. Professor Sutherland also has good things to say about Butler ("How many twentieth-century readers setting out hopefully on that jolting and rattling journey through *Hudibras* have ever got beyond the first canto?"), on *Milham*, and on all the "mob of gentlemen who wrote with ease". He is especially interesting on Charles Cotton, whose "natural vein" was unfashionable in his own time but attracted the favourable notice of Wordsworth, Coleridge and Lamb in due season.

It is tempting to be told, in the short chapter on the beginnings of prose fiction, that many of the works mentioned have been included because they form part of the history of the genre, but that "no well-read man need reproach himself if he never turns their pages". Professor Sutherland's scheme has left him space to say something interesting also about all the most important prose works in essays, letters, journalism, biography, autobiography, history and travel. Particularly striking is his account of Gilbert Burnet's *Life and Death of John Earl of Rochester*, above all of the theological discussions between this person and the repentant rake on his deathbed; and his comment on Richard Baxter.

But if his Christianity is reasonable, he is still, a good seventeenth century man fully alive to the power of feeling, and very far from thinking Christianity not mysterious.

Margaret Newcastle, Lucy Hutchinson, John Aubrey, Pepys, Evelyn and the rest are all there—not one passed by without some illuminating touch.

One cannot blame Professor Sutherland for devoting 153 pages to drama and only 116 to religion, philosophy, politics, economics, science and criticism all put together. After all he is a Professor (Emeritus) of English Literature writing on his own subject; and however important "backgrounds" may be, a line must be drawn somewhere between what is in print and what is literature, and between "climates of opinion" and their literary end-products. It may well be that *sub specie aeternitatis* the most important men of the period were not the literary men at all, but the men of science: Boyle and Newton and the Royal Society group; the men of religion: the Cambridge Platonists, Buoyan, Fox, Baxter, South; the philosophers: Cudworth and Locke. Merely to recall these great names is enough to restore our sense of proportion, and to reveal the absurdity of affixing to any age a label descriptive only of the antics of its literary coterie.

To call the Restoration a "baroque and adulterate" age is to fix attention upon the clamorous activities of Court and Town, and ignore the life of the whole nation; it is to imagine that "those who, outside the noise are the only inhabitants of the field"; it is as misleading as it is to talk about "the naughty nineties". However, there seems to be a general agreement that "literature" means, plays, epics, lyrics, satires, novels, essays and a few of the more readable books of religion (*The Pilgrim's Progress*), or history (*The Great Rebellion*), and so forth; and does not include Newton's *Principia*, Spinoza's *Ethics*, Cudworth's *True Intellectual System of the Universe* or Locke's



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## Too high a price?

ARNI NAESS: *Scepticism*. 165pp.  
Routledge and Kegan Paul. 30s.

Professor Naess is perhaps best known in British philosophical circles for his attempt to determine the meaning of "truth" by public opinion poll methods. *Scepticism* contains suggestions of an appeal to an authority of another kind in establishing a philosophical position. For Professor Naess argues that philosophical scepticism has been often misunderstood, and he draws our attention to that form of scepticism held by the Greek philosopher Pyrrho, as reported in the works of Sextus Empiricus. The rest of the book consists of a fairly elaborate defence of that position and no examination of its implications for beliefs and attitudes of a variety of kinds. It argues that this form of scepticism is both logically and psychologically tenable, and defends it in terms of considerations about belief and knowledge which have received some currency in Anglo-Saxon philosophy of recent years. There are, for example, many references to Ayer and Austin. It remains, however, a somewhat odd book.

Scepticism, as Professor Naess describes it, is really an attitude rather than a philosophical position. But, if that is so, it is clear that it must be very difficult for a philosopher to set out what it is in terms of the apparatus of traditional epistemology. Professor Naess spends some time on the role that a remark like "I know nothing" can play for a sceptic. Indeed a good deal of his epistemological discussion is devoted to a consideration of the possible use by sceptics of first person usages of "believe" and "know". What, in other words, can a sceptic say that he knows and does not know, or believes and does not believe? These are the operative questions rather than those which ask what the sceptic can allow that others know or believe. But Professor Naess does not altogether make this point clear, if indeed he is clear about it himself. In consequence his discussion has an obscurity and awkwardness which is greater than it need be.

It is very difficult to see whether Professor Naess has made out his case. That scepticism constitutes an attitude of mind which someone can maintain over a wide range of issues is clear enough. Whether it amounts to a consistent position is another matter, and in this respect it is possible that Professor Naess has paid insufficient attention to the historical development of the sceptical school in ancient Greece. For as a philosophy scepticism became more and more scholastic, and with this came something of the realization that perhaps the only legitimate philosophical position for a sceptic is silence. And that is a price too high for most philosophers to pay.

## Hegel the moralist

W. H. WALSH: *Hegelian Ethics*. 84pp. Macmillan. Paperback, 10s.

This short monograph is one of the "New Studies in Ethics" series which it is proposed to reprint as one large encyclopedic book. It is not certain that they are not more useful in their present separate form. In the case of Hegel, one is extremely likely to be put off, by the labour of reading him and the bulk of his works as well as those of his expositors, from ever finding out what he actually said. It is encouraging, therefore, to have a short and commonsense account of at least his ethical philosophy which is readily available and easy to read. Professor Walsh has chosen to expound the ethical theory of Hegel by reference to, and in contrast with, that of Kant, and this method is successful. It was through criticism of Kant that Hegel came to think of morality as a matter not of law, even self-imposed law, but of the fulfilment of some psychological human need; or rather it was through criticism of Kant that he came to regard morality, the law-governed way of life, as only a small and not very important part of life. Again, it was in dissolving himself from the philosophy of Kant

that he came to think of human conduct always in a social or national context, never as an isolated phenomenon.

It is because Hegel is not interested in man by himself, apart from his social and political context, that one tends not to consider him as part of the canon of Moral Philosophers. But, if only because of his profound effect on later authors, he should not be neglected in this role. *Hegelian Ethics* will, at any rate, be an extremely useful book for anyone who has ever been puzzled about how to fit Hegel into the history of moral philosophy. Much has been written about his influence upon Marxism and upon political thought in general, but little effort has been made, by any English writer, to separate the morals from the politics. For this we should be very grateful to Professor Walsh, and should forgive him the occasional parochialism of his approach to the subject. One sometimes feels that Hegel is rather reduced in those pages; reduced, that is, to something of the size potentially fit into an examination syllabus. But it is irrational to welcome his being rendered approachable, and then to complain that he has been tamed.

## Old targets

A. C. EWING: *Non-Linguistic Philosophy*. 279pp. Allen and Unwin. £2 12s. 6d.

Dr. Ewing has chosen an oddly attractive title for this collection of his papers, but it is doubtful whether it accurately describes its contents. For, despite the fact that he titles it as a number of the more fashionable windmills of contemporary British philosophy, his own position is fairly and squarely within the tradition that produced so-called linguistic philosophy. It is very much the work of an Anglo-Saxon philosopher, even if one of a somewhat old-fashioned sort. Many of the papers in *Non-Linguistic Philosophy* were written a long time ago, and their targets have long ceased to matter to contemporary philosophers. Verificationism, for example, is surely dead and buried. It is in consequence doubtful whether this book could have much interest for someone concerned with the present philosophical scene.

Not that Dr. Ewing's criticisms are not often acute. His criticisms of Austin on "can-statements", for example, are very well taken, and

this is not untypical of the author. But the book does not live up to the claim in the blurb that it challenges the prevailing school of philosophy. "Challenge" is not a word that can be used of Dr. Ewing's writings. He is very much a plain man's philosopher; and sensible and acute though his observations are, they somehow lack the ringing tones that a challenge requires. The three final papers are devoted to the philosophy of religion: even here the approach is a very matter-of-fact one, and ringing tones are once more absent.

Indeed the papers, written though they were over a considerable period of time, are very much apiece: they peck away at certain issues, and it cannot be denied that they frequently leave their mark. Dr. Ewing's approach and his line of criticism are consistent, but it is doubtful whether *Non-Linguistic Philosophy* adds much to his reputation. These articles contribute little to what he has already published, and they do not reveal a sufficiently distinctive position to warrant the special attention that "collected papers" often demand. It is all very sane, but not inspired.

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ing British publishers now run whole

series on management subjects for

use in our vast higher-educational,

undergraduate, post-graduate, adult

and post-business management train-

ing network. They would not have

misused-in on this subject had the

demand not grown so swiftly. Few

realize how fast that national net-

work has grown, how widely it ex-

terns and how big a national social

This body now finds itself mixed up

with the Department of Education

"and Science" about cutting 1969-

70 grants almost to one-half of those

for 1968-69. This mix-up will soon

one learns, he sorted out; but it is

symptomatic of the administrative

clashes, chaos and confusion that

have swiftly come about in this vast,

critical, and potentially creative field.

The two new postgraduate busi-

ness schools associated with London

and Manchester universities, aiming

(and promising well) to match any

in America, prudently began on a

modest scale, but with their teach-

ing facilities enormously streng-

thened by eminent part-time or full-

time teachers from private enterprise

and public administration. The

Oxford Centre of Management

Studies was inaugurated last month

under royal auspices and the patron-

age of some of our leading business-

men. The business or management

training schools at other universities

reg. Aston at Birmingham, Strath-

clyde at Glasgow, Bath, Brunel,

Warwick, Lancaster, Leeds, Brad-

ford, Sheffield, Newcastle-upon-

Tyne, Nottingham, Leicester) have

quickly earned the esteem—and hap-

pily secured the help in teaching—

of leading local business concerns

and their "top people". Many of

these universities have been deliber-

ately and deservedly promoted from

the old "Cats" (Colleges of

Advanced Technology) which had

long enjoyed that *clan vital* which

springs, as in America and

Germany, from enduring

associations between family or other

businesses and the local colleges of

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taken at more than 100 colleges like the valuable Regent Street Poly, in favour of a nation-wide rationalized, regionally coordinated network of some 200 colleges, i.e., "technical and adult education and training; and offering in this field short courses for senior managers, and career courses for potential managers; and a post-graduate master's degree course for equivalent. Now, in spite of the continued authorities and institutions in our management training system with its innumerable overlapping units, we are putting through more than 50,000 candidates of whom fewer than two-thirds can reach middle-management and only 2,000 or 4 per cent, top management. So we already need to prune, streamline, coalesce, rationalize - both in management training courses and in the institutions offering them.

But business training is "quite another thing" than management. Just as leadership is not necessarily management, nor vice versa, so business training may be well worth expansion, while extra training for fewer potential places in middle and top management may not be - now. For business methodology widens technologically, instrumentally, every day: computers, typing pools and automatic typing "banks", multi-copying, printing, book-keeping, invoicing, accounting, costing, stock-keeping, maintenance and other controls, archives, and so on through the gamut of small and large-scale modern producing, distributing, selling, transporting, employing, servicing, repairing units.

Like some other Western advanced countries though not as embarrassingly for our future as the United States we had a "baby boom" the outcome of which is now passing on to and through the labour markets: just when blue-collar jobs are being transcended by white-collar jobs, and big and small businesses (and the public monopolies, services, industries, and government offices) increasingly require more trained lower and middle and higher administrative functionaries with up-to-date skills, and need fewer and fewer manual or unskilled or even semi-skilled workpeople. For all of these, who cannot aspire or hope... must probably (and reasonably) would ever ardently want - to be middle or top managers, institutional training of a serious, schematic, continuous kind (both in practice and principles) is not only nationally desirable but also already "indicated" (in the medical sense) by contemporary technical developments. Many more employees that ever before in our history must now not only learn skills but learn fresh skills, anew while yet young; so fast does obsolescence of the old and invention of the new equipment demand such new learning.

Here we in Britain run headlong into the challenge sketched with frightening clarity in the books of those indefatigable management experts Mr. Peter Drucker and Professor D. N. Chornafas. The very titles of their latest works *The Age of Discontinuity* and *The Knowledge Revolution* define our training problems for business, management and public administration; for increasingly, everywhere in countries with advanced technology, knowledge of special and recondite techniques expands its frontiers and its potentially productive and economic applications in business and public administration at an accelerating pace, rendering earlier learned skills and methods (labour) and equipment (capital) more rapidly obsolete and redundant. Meanwhile in Britain organized labour (in unions and their political parties) and organized capital (boards and shareholders) rally to resist modernity by subsidizing (out of "external" funds like foreign borrowing or taxpayers' and ratepayers' compulsory contributions) the old-fashioned out-of-date requirements of skill or non-skill or of the obsolete capital equipment. Looking at the current Upper Clyde Shipbuilders cause célèbre, any foreigner might be forgiven for concluding that, indebted to foreigners as we still are and needing to "roll over" our recent debts into a still more problematic future, we had as a nation collectively or collectively taken leave of our

senses and decided to contract out of this century into the last. The foreign friend might conclude the same thing from our Selective Employment Tax, which flies flatly in the face of technological progress penalizing "service", tertiary and white-collar-promoted jobs in favour of less-skilled blue-collar operators; while the uninterrupted trend over the past twenty-four years in the United States, Switzerland, Scandinavia, Germany, and even Japan has patently been out of primary and secondary employments into tertiary, out of less and into more skilled, out of more knowledge-needing jobs, out of the state airlines, not only employ, but are fiscally and in other ways encouraged and paid to employ two or three times the amount - perhaps one-half or one-quarter the skilled quality - of the manpower employed for the same volume of output by our leading Western competitors; with natural results like the current insulating of London and Southampton from the benefits of "the container revolution" in shipping and the consequent switching of the pioneer British shipping lines to Rotterdam or Antwerp.

These are not strange in the winds of technological change now blowing on Britain and all advanced economic systems; in our case they are whole hazybacks. Dr. Drucker emphasizes "the new technology" and its implications and applications in entirely new industries by reason of the rapidity of its advance; the equally swift development in a world economy from a regional system; our lack of international institutions and methodology to cope with all this; and the vast social and international upheavals in sight as what Professor Chornafas terms "the knowledge revolution" widens and deepens, changing familiar patterns of work, communication, thinking, governing and managing. Dr. Drucker gives us all a good shaking-up. Americans and all, America's under-privileged millions stay generations if not centuries behind the college-educated and those making the knowledge-grade to the managerial, technological, governing, decision-making, responsible and therefore rightly better-paid posts.

Yet how much worse is it when he looks, and bids us look, at the world. No non-European, non-north American country has joined the club of advanced "Western" technological nations since Japan; and no national or international institutional economists, no bodies thereof, have yet come up with viable solutions to these economic and social problems of narrowing the gaps in productivity, standards of life and material welfare, &c. (His horrifying calculation that to raise real income per head throughout the world merely to \$1,000 a year on average would require annual new capital investment of \$1,400,000,000, or 50 per cent more than the present national output-income of the United States - seems reasonable in view of the lack of skilled manpower and management in the world; but it does help to define the dimensions of our problems.)

Meanwhile Professor Chornafas, drawing on his remarkable experience in businesses in many nations and continents and in the academic groves, tells us that current trends in "the knowledge industry" are pushing North America ahead of Western Europe (and for that matter much of Russian efforts) and other continents further behind; that the real *deficit Americanus*, like the realities behind the "brain drains" into North America (and to a less extent into Western Europe from Asia and Africa), is quite "nearer than popularly supposed, lying rather in the deliberate dovetailing in North American society of the educational and management training systems (one and the same) with the social and economic organizations necessary to encourage invention, initiative, application, change and economic development.

These thoughts are by no means new: the lag in application of new ideas may be greatest in Britain but they are evident everywhere when vested interests have to be uprooted. Over a year ago two other books made much of these points in different ways: *The Enterprise in Transition* by Dr. van der Haas (from the management services group of Royal Dutch Shell

was based on direct comparisons between European and American firms' experience and performance and expressly warned Europeans about falling behind in the technical, managerial, "knowledge" revolution. *Management and Machinery* by Antony Jay, less scholarly but more readable, as he tells one who learnt the craft of the I.L.M., maintains the arguable thesis that the large and growing modern corporations (public and private) are like feudal, medieval, often mercantile States to whom "the modern Machiavelli" might well be adviser. He is very good on Big Corporations' courts and courtesies, barons, knights, literatures, even hired assassins. But he contributes something of real value when he describes the errors, wastes and occasional successes of these "economic sovereigns": problems of devolution, delegation, training up of successors (the later Roman Empire's greatest failure) and mixture of newly required skills. "Managed industries" and firms, he rightly says, "will succeed" or "fail" - which brings us back to our main topic: what do we all need most from management, and how do we train the managers to provide it?

Out of our 26 million grudgingly occupied population (including the armed forces) there must be some 11 million "management" persons: roughly one in every twelve to thirteen in ordinary productive employment, apart from the armed forces, self-employed, professions, &c. (On page 621 one author estimates "supervisors, foremen and forewomen", the critical last link in the management chain connecting heads to shop-floors, at more than 3,000,000 in this country today.) All clerical and "admin" civil and local government servants alone by no means "managers" all of them, but all managing us and our affairs - we have more than 11 and nearer to 2 million. The same category of clerical and administrative workers in our publicly-owned industries, boards and services, transport of all kinds, ports, fuel and energy, water,

iron and steel, I.L.M. &c., to a further 12 to 2 million, highly the growing number of self-defined managers in economic and social life, merely in its economic and administrative aspects. Taking 14 million, whereas only 11 million was put at 50,000 in 1945, it is our main task to develop responsibility and competence in the mere Board itself, to make all directors' professional competence in management in the Board to encompass a range of "knowledge" and skills and data. Once they are organized and up-dated their management needs will be met. The managers needed over 50 per cent, but so do they and profits. It was "Parkinson's Law": the economies were greater. The technological trend of the future will have to be retrained again and again: a higher and adult education system to cope with the flows of new farmworkers to the cities of America and continental Europe, and of new roadworkers in those countries for the past two decades has a built-in reservoir of available new adult skills. Power, *Per contra* we in Britain actually using high tax manpower in nine-tenths of our industries and regions (Chornafas and Dr. Drucker, any economist observer from Britain, must stand aghast at the pass, for development, and manpower training in Britain; but not aghast at the wastefulness, lagging performance and negative economy.

Sir Walter Puckey makes service in his latest book, *The Reason*, based on a lifetime of experience of "topmanship", a book and interesting both for the strictly objective viewpoint it plights we would do well to plumb it, and for the realistic, almost off-the-wall, and occasionally in the talk, like "the Board" or "directors", "the bosses" or "the top management".

So much of its outlines apparent in the columns of the *TLS*: as indeed has regularly been done during the past fifteen years. Yet the Platt Report lies unheeded since six months ago: the confusion and chaos of our management and institutions persist; and our truly great fund of teaching talent, from academic groves and business alike, gets more and more diluted and dissipated, in the increasing frustration of able teachers and students and the annoyance of everybody (not least the taxpayers).

Surely this national problem is one for the solution of which all Socialists, Liberals, Tories, trade unionists and bosses, shareholders, and directors, educationists and civil servants, scientists and arts graduates - could easily collaborate on a rational, rationalized, nation-wide system. That the need is known, realized and being partially and confusedly met is shown by the publishers whose specific books are reviewed on pages 12-17. Or must we for this aspect of our modernization and rejuvenation wait that kind of "back to the wall" crunch for which, in so many other of our national aspects, we appear still to be waiting?

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## Contemporary

JOHN STUART MILL: *Essays on Economics and Society*. Introduction by Lord Robbins. Volume IV: 404pp. Volume V: pp.405-847. Routledge and Kegan Paul. £8.8s. the pair.

Mill's twenty-eight papers on economic method, problems and policy are published in two volumes in chronological order of original publication. The textual editor, Professor John M. Robson of Toronto University, is editor of *The Mill News Letter*. He provides

as the basic text the latest version from Mill's own pen. Earlier versions, and those in which he may have had a hand (though published after his death), are collated with the basic text, and the resulting substantive variants are given as footnotes.

In his substantial textual introduction, Professor Robson explains that writings by Mill in which the economic interest is secondary will appear in other volumes. The two volumes of *Essays on Economics and Society* contain the writings in which the economic content is paramount, and this renders them particularly attractive to economists. As Professor Robson states, "One can reasonably assume that readers will be content to follow Mill across interdisciplinary boundaries to other volumes of the edition." Professor Robson also provides a "Bibliographic Index of Persons and Works Cited in the Essays, with Variants and Notes" of more than sixty pages and the volumes are, of course, fully indexed.

In reading the Essays, one is aware only of Mill; the textual editor never intrudes. Professor Robson has produced volumes which, in editing virtuosity, rival Piero Sraffa's *Works and Correspondence of David Ricardo*, and there can be no higher praise. The forty-page introduction by Lord Robbins, an acknowledged authority on nineteenth-century economists, admirably relates the essays to Mill's *Principles of Political Economy* and "the evolution of the views of their author on economic and social problems". Lord Robbins considers the essays under six main headings: "General Economic Theory (other than money and banking); Money and Banking; Public Finance; Labour; Property and Its Social Control; and Socialism". The essays fully justify the verdict of Lord Robbins:

The historic value of Mill's contribution did not reside either in the range

or in the finality of the elements of the system; it was rather in the spirit thereof. It is for this reason that for a generation disillusioned with systems, he once more appears as a highly admirable figure: a man with a firm hold on the ultimate values of truth and justice and liberty, with strong principles and a strong belief in their applicability; yet, once the high spirits and arrogance of youth had been transcended, fair in argument, willing to learn from experience, emulous in practical judgment, experimental in action.

Now that Mill's essays on economics are readily accessible in such an attractive form, two things are likely to happen. First, many economists will revise their views of Mill; there is a tendency for economists to jump from Ricardo to Marshall, thereby by-passing Mill. He tends to be regarded merely as the writer of yet another *Principles of Political Economy*, who made an original contribution to the theory of international trade on the demand side, and who devoted the rest of his life to political and philosophical problems which interested him more. The Essays clearly demonstrate that this was not so. Mill clearly recognized the importance of economic forces in society, and he mastered the principles of political economy in order to understand how those forces operated. Throughout his life economic problems and their solution were an abiding passion.

The Essays leave the impression that the Monopolies Commission, the Department of Economic Affairs and the Prices and Incomes Board have taken the place of John Stuart Mill. Secondly, economists will perhaps refrain from viewing the classical economists as men who erroneously regarded the institutions of capitalism as perfect and established for all time. Certainly in these Essays Mill did not consider the economic organization of his time as in any way ideal or permanent.

In Mill's *Essays on Economics* we find unadulterated economics. In Mill's time men were sufficiently like economic men for the theories to reflect fairly accurately the real world. In Mill economics was not the mere "handmaiden of sociology" it was destined to become after 1890. We may find his dismissal of progressive taxation quaint and his demonstrations that aggregate demand must always be effective peculiar; nevertheless, his willingness to face facts and his insistence on participation leave with the reader the impression that Mill is as much a contemporary as a great Victorian figure.

## Burning bright

BRIAN ASH: *Tiger in your Tank*. 166pp. Cassell. 25s.

Last year a B.B.C. television reporter made a seemingly authentic visit to a subterranean refuge furnished against some nuclear Doomsday by a large oil company in America. It would be hard to think of a more repellent monument to the self-esteem of which large corporations seem to be capable: it is the same self-esteem that makes Brian Ash's *Tiger in Your Tank* a melancholy book to read.

Mr. Ash has assembled the story of the massive advertising campaign for Esso Extra petrol built around the image of the tiger, but he has done so in the committed and supercilious way of a prolonged company hand-out. A rigorous and detailed study of a particular advertising campaign, with transcripts of all the dozens of meetings involved - especially the pretentious think-sessions, with their mixture of cheap fantasy and obsequiousness, definitely lampooned years ago by S. J. Perelman - records of expenditure, and a proper analysis of the advertising's effect on retailers and consumers, would be a genuine sociological document. Mr. Ash has not aimed at anything so valuable and has, for good measure, failed to deal at all seriously with the moral problems raised by advertising to general and by a campaign vaunting the power of a petrol in particular.

What is wrong with a great deal of publicity is surely that it exists to invest utterly trivial decisions with bogus significance. There is a ludicrous imbalance between the intensity of effort and discussion that spawns an advertising campaign and its puny effect on rational minds. Millions of pounds may be spent on dramatizing the moment and point of sale as a crisis, only to find that most people, quite properly, insist on preserving it as a moment of total insignificance. The divorce between effort and effect can lead to the sort of solipsism recorded in Mr. Ash's last chapters, in which the tiger campaign is lumpishly revived as a spurious quarrel between Esso's advertising manager and the tiger itself. This, as an anonymous copywriter quoted has the grace to recognize, is advertising the advertising and not the petrol.

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The director of the Glacier Institute of Management and Mr. Rowbattom, basing their work on the Glacier (Meta) Project's experience, provide a brief but concise survey of the organizational aspects of management, emphasizing the personal and communication problems.

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The editor of *Nation's Business* sent their associate editor to attend and describe fully the Advanced Management Program offered twice a year by the famous Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration with this informative, refreshing outcome.

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